

السنة الأولى

Tuesday May 21 1996

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The Guardian

INTERNATIONAL

NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR 46,558

Printed in London, Manchester, Frankfurt and Roubaix

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Mrs Bruno's iron fist

G2 with European weather



Ecstasy: the highs and the lows

All about E

G2 centrespread



Education

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New judges herald reform

Top legal roles for Bingham and Woolf

Clare Dyer
Legal Correspondent

THE top jobs in the English judiciary are to go to two of the most radical thinkers among senior judges, heralding what could be an unprecedented era of legal reform.

In an announcement likely to be made on Thursday, Sir Thomas Bingham, Master of the Rolls, is to become Lord Chief Justice, and Lord Woolf the new Master of the Rolls. The shake-up has been precipitated by Lord Taylor's premature retirement through illness after only four years as Lord Chief Justice. The change means that Sir Thomas will move from heading the civil side of the Court of Appeal to running its criminal division, while Lord Woolf transfers down from the House of Lords.

Both men are noted for their willingness to approach matters from first principles, sweeping aside the traditional assumptions which have blocked fundamental reform of the legal system.

Lord Woolf, who chaired the Strangeways Inquiry, will soon unveil the final part of his blueprint for the most radical overhaul of the civil justice system for a century, making it cheaper, quicker and more accessible. The appointments should also lower the temperature between the Government and the judiciary over sentencing policy. While both men are staunch defenders of judicial independence, both are less confrontational in style than predecessors such as Lord Taylor and Lord Donaldson.

The appointments were welcomed last night by Lord Lester, QC, the Liberal Democrat peer and human rights lawyer. "They are both modern, enlightened, strong judges, who will ensure that the judiciary continues to modernise the judicial system to the extent to which judges

can do so without Parliament," he said.

The Labour peer and libel lawyer Lord Williams of Mostyn, QC said Sir Thomas was "extremely well-equipped intellectually and also a radical thinker."

Sir Thomas emerged as a more politically acceptable candidate than the other front-runner, Lord Justice Rose, a more experienced criminal judge, but a critic of Home Secretary Michael Howard's "three strikes and out" sentencing proposals. Sir Thomas said that while such sentences had not worked in America, they did not threaten the judges' independence. "As Parliament can prescribe a maximum penalty without infringing the constitutional independence of the judges, so it can prescribe a minimum."

He added: "The citizen is entitled to expect the legal system to protect him and there is a widespread sense of insecurity. Ministers were also grateful for his defence of the Attorney General, Sir Nicholas Lyell, in the wake of the Scott report. He said Sir Nicholas was "doing his best in good faith" when he signed public immunity certificates.

Though the House of Lords is a higher court than the Court of Appeal, the Master of the Rolls takes precedence over the law lords as second only to the Lord Chief Justice.

Lord Woolf recently warned politicians who mull about curbing the judges' power by abolishing judicial review that "if Parliament did the unthinkable, then I would say that the courts would also be required to act in a manner which would be without precedent... I myself would consider there were advantages in making it clear that ultimately there are even limits on the supremacy of Parliament which it is the courts' inalienable responsibility to identify and uphold."

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Sir Thomas Bingham (left) and Lord Justice Woolf



'I believe I have given strength to others... to challenge the treatment they are receiving'



PC Karen Wade leaving the tribunal yesterday, after her sexual harassment claims were rejected PHOTOGRAPH: ROSS PARRY

Policewoman loses sex case battle

Martin Wainwright

A POLICEWOMAN who claimed she was subjected to nine months of humiliation and victimisation by three male colleagues lost her case for sexual harassment yesterday. PC Karen Wade, aged 27, put her head in her hands and sobbed after complaints of persistent and obscene sexual harassment were rejected by a Leeds industrial tribunal. She is to appeal.

PC Wade, who intends to return to duty with West Yorkshire police, said she did not regret bringing the case. "I believe I have given strength to other women... in this position, to stand up and challenge the treatment they are receiving."

West Yorkshire's chief constable, Keith Hellawell, stressed that eliminating sexual harassment was a long-term challenge. "To end harassment of people particularly in relation to their sex or colour of their skin isn't easy. It is something that is going to take generations. This is one step along the road."

PC Wade had brought the case against the force, PC Dean Mountain, aged 30, Sergeant Ian Devey, aged 32, and Sergeant Paul Fountain, aged 30. The officers were accused of taunting PC Wade, who has been off sick for 10 months, barring her career development, and forcing her to make tea "because she is a woman".

They denied all the complaints, including a claim that PC Mountain had invited a detained glue sniffer to have sex with PC Wade in a police van. It was also claimed she was nicknamed Stripper, Tart, Cabbage and Bianca after the EastEnders TV soap character she was said to resemble. Hilary McLaughlin, solicitor for the officers, said: "Not one iota of evidence has been offered to support these



allegations."

The case raised disquieting claims of routine sexual bullying in the West Yorkshire force. Its specialist officer for women staff, Sergeant Jane McGill, aged 43, gave evidence of a "hidden culture of harassment", which survived because so few women would publicly complain.

She revealed she had been indecently assaulted four times and had enjoyed a good career only by not making a fuss.

Maureen Baker, representing PC Wade, said: "There is a culture in the police that you do not grass on your colleagues. Listening to the denials in the tribunal, I felt as if there was a ventriloquist in there. Not only did they deny the offences but they did so in identical language." PC Wade had shown enormous courage in bringing the case, and there was considerable consolation in the majority verdicts which cleared PC Mountain and Sergeant Devey. Sergeant Fountain and West Yorkshire police were cleared unambiguously.

Mrs Baker said: "Since this began, I have been contacted by 11 other women in the force with harassment allegations."

Sinn Fein offers weapons hope

Adams pledges to sign Mitchell principles, but London insists ceasefire is essential to talks

David Sharrock
and Patrick Wintour

SINN FEIN'S president, Gerry Adams, said last night his party was prepared to sign up to the six principles established by an international body to resolve the deadlock in Northern Ireland over illegally held weapons.

The announcement, made during an interview on BBC television, was immediately countered by John Major's office, which made it clear that such an undertaking would not be enough to get Sinn Fein a place at the all-party talks, which begin on June 10.

"The need for a ceasefire is paramount," a spokesman said.

The Dublin government said the Sinn Fein move was welcome, but added: "The government hope that today's statement can be built upon and that the IRA reinstate its ceasefire so that the circumstances will be right for the success of fully inclusive all-party talks on June 10."

Mr Adams's decision may boost his party's standing in the May 30 Northern Ireland Forum elections, which will also elect negotiators to the talks, but appears at this stage not to have any direct implications for a restoration of the IRA ceasefire.

In his interview, Mr Adams repeatedly asserted that Sinn Fein and the IRA were not the same organisation.

"I will sign up to the Mitchell principles provided everyone else is doing it, and pro-

vided they are in the context of proper all-party talks, because all of those issues are entirely within Sinn Fein's public policy," he said.

The Mitchell principles are named after the former US senator George Mitchell, whose three-man team set out the basis for paramilitary decommissioning. The Ulster Unionist leader, David Trimble, was sceptical, saying Sinn Fein would have to give "their total and absolute commitment to principles", including ending punishment beatings.

"Even the dog in the street knows Sinn Fein/IRA are part and parcel of the one organisation, and for Sinn Fein to try to separate itself from the IRA would appear to be simply a sham," he said.

There is considerable speculation about the significance of Mr Adams' announcement. Some believe it is a sign the IRA does not intend to renew its ceasefire in time for the start of the talks, thus embarrassing the Government by

Principles

- Accept democratic and exclusively peaceful means of resolving issues.
- Disarmament of paramilitary organisations.
- Disarmament verifiable independently.
- Renounce themselves, and oppose force by others.
- Accept any agreement in the talks and use only peaceful means to alter it.
- Stop punishments.

forcing it to decide whether or not to bar Sinn Fein, which would undoubtedly stage a demonstration at Stormont and claim its renewed electoral mandate was being ignored.

The move could also be seen as further movement towards a formal separation between Sinn Fein and the IRA, which many observers say would be very difficult to achieve.

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Sketch

Boring leaks land Tory MP in Probe



Simon Hoggart

PEOPLE sometimes say to me: "Simon, why do you keep writing cheap jokes about Michael Fabricant, the Conservative MP for Mid Staffs? Is it just to fill up space when there's been a particularly boring day in the Commons?"

I reply: "Certainly not! I try to write about Michael Fabricant every day, and would do the same even if the Prime Minister shot the Chancellor of the Exchequer dead during Question Time."

For some weeks now I have been receiving anonymous letters about Mr Fabricant through the Commons Internal post. Sometimes these enclose press clippings or photographs; once, a piece of paper he had Xeroxed and left in the machine.

Last week my nameless correspondent wrote in high excitement, claiming he had just seen Mr Fabricant driving a Ford Probe, the ultimate travelling salesman-mobile. He pointed out that Gareth Cheeseman, the absurd sales executive played by Steve Coogan on TV ("I am a tiger! A tiger!") has a Probe. It is the upmarket version of the Ford Escort with go-faster stripes and fog lamps. I suspect that no-one in history has ever bought a Probe with his own money.

Sometimes, when as yesterday the Commons is rather dull, I ponder who my helper might be. Clearly, he works closely with Mr Fabricant, because he follows his every move. He is the man waiting behind him at the photocopier, or the woman lurking outside the MP's car park. He or she wants to get Mr Fabricant's name in print as often as possible.

My own surmise is that the letters come from Mr Fabricant himself, pretending to be anonymous, and assuming correctly that the furtive nature of his behaviour will pique my interest and

persuade me to give him yet another mention. So keep it coming, Mike, and thanks. Yesterday he interested me during National Heritage Questions to ask about TV reception in Wales. You may wonder why the MP for Mid Staffordshire should care about this topic. The answer I fear, that Mr Fabricant is a know-all, and what he knows isn't very interesting.

If you met him at a dinner-party, and were silly enough to mention that you proposed to take your summer holiday in Spain, he would tell you about the growth in Spanish hemp exports in the 1980s. If you said it was chilly for the time of year, he would tell you that in Oymyakon, Siberia, the world's coldest permanent inhabited place, a temperature of -68F was recently recorded.

Was the minister aware, he asked, that there were more television transmitters in Wales than in the rest of the United Kingdom altogether? "This is because of the topology of Wales," he added, horking.

Perhaps he meant "topography" (the study of the surface features of a region). Or possibly he did mean "topology" (a branch of geometry describing the properties of a figure that are unaffected by continuous distortion, such as stretching and knotting", which is clearly a reference to Mr Fabricant's wig. Most people would assume that topology refers to what's knotted, on top.)

A few minutes later, during questions to the Lord Chancellor's department, MPs held a discussion on wigs. Andrew Mackinlay (Lab, Thurrock) wanted judges to stop wearing them because they looked ridiculous.

The Parliamentary Secretary, Jonathan Evans, said that most people wanted judges to wear wigs. So did the Liberal, Alex Carrile.

David Ashby (C, Leics NW), no stranger to the courts himself, averred that barristers should also wear wigs. "Accused people want their briefs tarted up for their day in court," he said — no doubt a reference to naughty lingerie sold at all-woman parties in the suburbs.

The sad thing is that Mr Fabricant had left the chamber just two minutes before.

Review

Mrs Simpson and the facts of life

David Horspool

The Duchess of Windsor Michael Bloch

LIKE "World War 2 Bomber Found on Moon", the headline "Was Wallis Simpson a Man?" is almost certain to catch the reader's eye. This is how Michael Bloch's new biography of the Duchess of Windsor was published, and the accompanying newspaper extracts made a desultory case that Wallis Simpson was born genetically male. This meant she had the male chromosome, but had failed to respond to the release of testosterone, so had not developed male sexual organs. Sufferers from this condition, which Bloch tells us is called Androgen Insensitivity Syndrome (AIS), cannot generally have sexual intercourse, and are certainly incapable of bearing children. The evidence for this seemed chiefly to be based on a remark which a late doctor, John Randall, made to Bloch, when he started his research into the Windsors. (This is Bloch's sixth book about them.) Randall had never examined the duchess, but he knew a man who had, and assured Bloch "there's no doubt about it".

Curiously, although it was two years before Randall died, Bloch never asked him about the subject again, but believes that it would explain "something of which I have long been convinced: that while Edward gave up a throne to marry her, he never in fact enjoyed full marital relations with [the duchess] and she was probably incapable of them." In other words, something Bloch doesn't know to be true may explain something else he doesn't know to be true.

One might have expected the book itself to go into more detail, and make an attempt to substantiate the claim, but in fact, Bloch is rather more reticent between hard covers. Although he refers to a possible element of "gender confusion" about the baby Wallis, he merely suggests that she was incapable of sexual intercourse, but "as to whether this might have been due to some physiological defect on her part, or to some traumatic past incident in her life which had induced the condition known as vaginismus, or to some other cause, one can but speculate". No AIS, no Dr Randall (although he appears in the epilogue) and less of a headline.

What remains when Bloch's unsubstantiated claims are put to one side is a handsome enough picture book with commentary, which tells the Windsors' story from their own point of view.

As Bloch's edited collection of their letters amply demonstrated, the Windsors remained very much in love, although their relationship always retained its unusual character. Wallis bossed her husband, who seemed most attracted to her dominating ways.

Bloch's final judgment on the duchess is that she was a great mistress of the "arts" of housekeeping, decoration and fashion. This is very certainly true — though it is rather easier to master these arts if there are dozens of servants to help you — but "Was Wallis Simpson Very Good at Keeping House?" does not have quite the same ring as "Was Wallis Simpson a Man?"

Weidenfeld & Nicolson, £18.99

The betrayal of Chechnia

In an exclusive report from Sernovodsk, James Meek reveals that Russian soldiers knowingly targeted civilians in a five-day onslaught two months ago which left about 30 dead



'If the authorities were really fighting with the aim of minimising risk to civilians, they would have created special units which would actually carry out such operations. But throughout the war this has not been done'

IT WOULD have been easier to dismiss the attackers as barbarians and fascists. Most people left among the ruins of Sernovodsk do. But after the bombardment, just before the looting began in earnest, Avkhat and Zoya Maradov sensed an emotion among the Russian troops which made their deaths even harder to take.

The Maradovs emerged from their cellar with their two handicapped children after four days under shell and rocket fire, and came face to face with the Russians. "I was crying, I said 'Boys, why are you fighting against people's homes? One of them shrugged and said he didn't know. He said: 'Don't cry. We won't bomb you any more.'"

Even now, two months after the assault, Russian troops often turn back journalists trying to visit Sernovodsk and Samashki, the neighbouring community in north-west Chechnia which was flattened a few days later. Aid agencies estimate 140 civilians died in the two attacks. Because the Russian government has not admitted any wrongdoing, and Western leaders have turned a blind eye to the brutality for fear of harming the re-election chances of the man ultimately responsible for it, Boris Yeltsin, there is no reason why it should not happen again.

Interviews carried out by the Guardian in Sernovodsk and the neighbouring republic of Ingushetia confirm earlier suspicions that although a small number of armed Che-

chen men were in the town, Russian troops made no attempt to carry out a house to house search or evacuate civilians and refugees before launching their indiscriminate barrage.

Tension had been running high in Sernovodsk for months. Russian forces considered the town a focus of rebel activity and had ringed it with troops. One soldier told the Maradovs he had been told there were 500 armed fighters in the village. In fact, there was a 25-strong local "self-defence detachment", set up as the

result of last year's peace deal between Russia and the Chechen separatists, plus a variable group of 15-180 young men who supported the rebel cause and had access to weapons but might slip in and out of civilian life. They lived among 10,000 civilians and as many refugees.

On March 2, the people of Sernovodsk were promised that at 10am the next day a commission would come from the Chechen capital, Grozny to resolve tension by agreeing to a search by federal forces. Instead, at 6.30am, the Russian bombardment began.

A court case in Grozny last week found that the Russian army had shot dead 30 people in the town. The town council said more than 80 people had been killed, including four women, and 480 of the town's 2,500 homes had been destroyed.

Elikh Umkhanov, the mayor recently appointed by the pro-Russian Chechen administration in Grozny, said some rebels had initially fired back at the Russians, killing at least seven soldiers, but that all fighters slipped out of Sernovodsk after the first day of bombardment. The Russians continued their attack for five days.

Boris Agapov, vice-president of Ingushetia, said the attacks on Sernovodsk and Samashki were the result of a battle between the party of war and the party of peace around the Russian president. "The army has already crossed the boundary beyond which there can only be hatred, malice and mercilessness. This condition is used by certain military and political leaders to make the war go on."

"If the authorities were really fighting separatists or military formations with the aim of minimising risk to civilians, they would have created special units which

Back in the USSR, page 9

The official said rebels were buying flats along the airport road and that "assassins are being specially trained to carry out this attack".

Mr Yeltsin has vowed to go ahead with his visit.

Cannes triumph for Mike Leigh

Derek Malcolm in Cannes

THE British film director Mike Leigh won the Golden Palm at the Cannes Festival last night for his film *Secrets and Lies*. A tragicomic family drama, it also won the International Critics' Prize, and Brenda Blethyn completed the triumph as best actress for her part as the white mother of an illegitimate black girl.

The works

Films: *Meantime* (1988); *The Short and Curly Haircuts* (1987); *High Hopes* (1989); *Life is Sweet* (1990); *Naked* (1993). TV plays and films: *A Mug's Game* (1972); *Hard Labour* (1973); *The Permissive Society*; *A Light Snack* (1975); *Nuts in May*; *Knock for Knock* (1976); *Abigail's Party*; *The Glass of Tears* (1977); *Who Who* (1978); *Grown-Ups* (1980); *Home Sweet Home* (1982); *Four Days in July* (1984)

and Pascal Duquenne. Duquenne is the first professional actor with Down's syndrome to receive a big film festival prize. He stars, as a Down's syndrome man, in *The Eighth Day*, by the Belgian director Jaco Van Dormael, whose brother also suffers from Down's syndrome.

The jury, headed by Francis Ford Coppola, the US director, gave a special prize for daring to the Canadian director David Cronenberg's *Crash*, a film many thought pornographic.

The jury was split on the decision, he said, and some wished to be dissociated from the award. The film is based on JG Ballard's book of the same name.

The awards were a considerable British triumph. The runner-up to Leigh's film was Lars von Trier's *Breaking The Waves*. The director is Danish but the film was made in Scotland with a largely British cast.

Lynne Ramsay won the best short film for *Small Deaths*, a study of childhood in a Glasgow housing estate.

A bit of Leigh way, and full awards: G2, page 4



Mike Leigh, flanked by the US actress Anjelica Huston, collects the Golden Palm

Britain expels three Sudanese diplomats

Khartoum has threatened to retaliate for the UN-decreed curbs, writes Ian Black

BRITAIN is expelling three diplomats from the Sudanese embassy in London in line with new United Nations sanctions designed to pressure the Khartoum regime to hand over suspected terrorists, it was announced yesterday.

during a visit to Addis Ababa last June. Sudan insists it does not know where the men are. Western intelligence agencies say this is a lie.

Britain's European Union partners are expected to follow suit with expulsions on a proportionate basis, though the London embassy is Sudan's biggest in the West.

Sudanese officials, who had been braced for one expulsion following the United States decision to throw out a diplomat, threatened retaliation. Britain's embassy in Khartoum has seven staff.

Foreign Office sources said there would be no justification for tit-for-tat action since the move was the result of a UN resolution.

The sanctions, which took effect on May 16, call on member countries to "significantly reduce" the number and level of staff at Sudanese diplomatic missions and restrict or control the movement of those who remain.

The measures can be toughened after 60 days. Diplomats say Sudan is feeling the pressure and signalling it may act against fundamentalist militants. The US is especially concerned about Khartoum's links with Iranian-backed groups.

"They've been squealing about this for some time in Khartoum," a Western diplomat said. "They're very unhappy and not indifferent to these sort of restrictions."

President Omar el-Bashir is especially worried by mounting evidence of Eritrean support for the Sudanese opposition, possibly with covert CIA involvement.

The US said last week it was expelling a Sudanese diplomat. In April, it expelled a Sudanese official at the United Nations, accusing him of helping Muslim extremists plot to blow up the UN and other New York landmarks.

Britain braced for beef vote

Stephen Bates in Brussels

BRITAIN'S beef crisis appeared to be deepening last night as the European Union's expert veterinary committee looked set to vote down compromise proposals to ease the worldwide ban on hydropod exports.

The Government's increasingly desperate efforts to conciliate fellow member states by offering a doubling in the number of cattle to be culled, from 42,000 to 80,000, looked unlikely to secure progress towards a lifting of the ban.

The veterinary experts committee met all day in Brussels behind closed doors, while a few hundred yards up the road the council of member states' agriculture ministers waited impatiently for a recommendation from them before they could discuss the issue.

Intense lobbying instructions and counter-instructions flew around Brussels as the European Commission tried to induce national delegations to change their minds and accept its plans to ease the ban on hydropods such as gelatine, tallow and semen.

But Germany appeared adamant that the compromise was unacceptable and that nothing short of detailed proposals to ensure a complete cessation of the BSE disease would be acceptable.

Last night it appeared to be receiving the backing of Austria and Spain and more tentative support from Belgium, Portugal and Greece, more than enough to block a lifting of the ban.

Ironically, Britain's insistence two years ago on maintaining the small size of the blocking minority against EU decisions appeared likely to rebound against it on the first occasion that the qualified majority voting procedure vitally affected its own national interests, as it became easier for other member states to block any relaxation of the ban.

A refusal to lift the hydropods ban would appear to have serious consequences for the UK's relations with the EU as well as for the European Commission's powers of persuasion.

Relations, already tense over the beef crisis, threaten to boil over into outright confrontation with the British government and between Brussels and Euro-sceptics at Westminster.

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July 2015 D

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Instant £100 for investors in Railtrack

Small investors were last night sitting on instant profits averaging more than £100 as the Government's most controversial privatisation to date, the £1.93 billion sale of Railtrack, provoked renewed accusations that valuable state assets were being sold on the cheap.

As opposition parties queued up to denounce the sale, big institutions — led by heavy American buying — scrambled to build positions in the company that runs the national rail and signalling network.

In hectic trading, thousands of small investors realised instant profits of 30p a share as the shares shot up from their 190p first instalment price to close at 220.5p, having at one time touched a high of 227.5p.

The sale will raise less for the Treasury than the £2 billion of taxpayers' money it pays out each year to keep the railway running.

Leading fund managers in the City underlined the risks attached to the sell-off, which has been dogged by political controversy. Although they expect the shares to trade at a premium for some time, most big investors are wary about Railtrack's long-term prospects, with John Major defending a one-seat majority and the possibility of a hostile Labour government.

One fund manager said: "We just have to wait for the next Tory MP to die and there will be an inevitable knee-jerk reaction to the heightened political risk."

Mindful of the need to complete the sell-off, quickly claimed that the huge demand for shares underlined the public's confidence in the privatisation process.

Transport Secretary Sir George Young said: "I am delighted to welcome Railtrack's new shareholders on board and am confident that private sector ownership and management will improve Railtrack's efficiency, resulting in benefits to both passengers and shareholders."

But the shadow transport secretary, Clare Short, said

the Government would have to take full responsibility for the damage the cut-price sale would cause.

"It is possible to sell anything if the price is low enough, but the Government has had to sweeten, distort and mislead to ensure that Railtrack is sold," she said.

She warned that once the special dividend — being paid out of past profits from when Railtrack was in the public sector — was handed out in September the shares would crash. "Under this Government, Railtrack faces an uncertain future, with a volatile share price which is likely to drop sharply once sweeteners have been paid."

David Chidgey, the Liberal Democrat transport spokesman, said the company had been given away and warned that the shareholders' windfall would be short-lived. "We will be insisting on strong regulation in the next Parliament. There will be no bonanza for shareholders."

Academics supported the view that Railtrack and the rest of the privatised railway system would face a troubled life in the private sector. Oxford Economic Research Associates, leading experts on the privatised utilities, warn today that nearly all British rail services are losing making and will continue to be so.

But with the Government and its advisers, SBC Warburg, carefully structuring the sale to guarantee investors handsome short-term returns, few showed signs of panic yesterday.

The offer was heavily oversubscribed, with 650,000 applications from the public for shares, most of which had to be scaled back.

The public allocation was boosted from 30 to 48.3 per cent when the Government clawed back shares from the big City institutions. This fuelled demand in City dealing rooms, provoking an early frenzy among big investors.

Overseas interest came mostly from big US investors, who were thought last night to have bought up about 10 per cent of the issue.

It was clear that many private investors had taken the opportunity to cash in on a quick profit by selling their shares immediately.



Officers search for evidence on a sliproad off the M25 in Kent, alongside the Bedford van whose passenger was knifed to death

PHOTOGRAPH BY FIONA HANSON

Police study tapes in hunt for road rage killer

Sarah Boseley

POLICE were last night studying stills and video tape from roadside cameras in the hope of identifying the driver who knifed to death Stephen Cameron, aged 21, in an apparent fit of road rage.

Detective Superintendent John Grace, of Kent police, echoed the advice of motoring organisations in urging drivers never to let their fury at people's stupidities provoke them into a roadside row. "It would urge drivers to avoid confrontations. It just isn't worth it."

Officers were yesterday searching for the murder weapon, thought to be a thin-bladed knife about 2cm in width. Mr Cameron was stabbed after arguing with the driver of a dark Land Rover Discovery at junction three of the M25, near Swanley, Kent, at Sunday lunchtime.

The Discovery is said to have overtaken a red Bedford van, driven by Mr Cameron's girlfriend, on the roundabout. When the vehicles stopped at traffic lights, the Discovery driver got out and an argument began. Mr Cameron, the passenger in the van, also got out and was stabbed.

His attacker was reported to have fled down the M25 towards the Dartford tunnel. Tape from the tunnel's video surveillance system, and stills from motorway speed-trap cameras, are being examined. Mr Cameron, an electrical engineer who lived with his parents in Swanley, was dead on arrival at hospital.

Police said the attacker was white, in his late 30s to early 50s, with brown but greying collar-length wavy hair. He was about 5ft 10in tall, clean shaven, and wearing jeans and a dark bomber jacket.

Mr Cameron's family yesterday left flowers at the scene of the attack. On one bouquet his parents had written "To Steve, we will miss you always, love forever, mum and dad." His mother added: "I will love you, cherish you and be with you forever."

Leader comment, page 8



Stephen Cameron, aged 21, who was stabbed to death in front of his girlfriend, after a roadside argument

Recent attacks

CHAUFFEUR Tony Hart leapt from his limousine, banged a motorcyclist's head on the pavement, and throttled him until he was unconscious last October. The attack followed an incident at a roundabout in south London. Hart was convicted of assault occasioning actual bodily harm on Charles Jeffrys. He is awaiting sentence.

A pedestrian who forced a van driver to brake suddenly on a road in Bolton, Greater Manchester, was beaten senseless by the vehicle's two occupants. Malcolm Steele, 52, suffered a fractured skull and had a heart attack shortly afterwards. He was placed on a life support machine.

Motorist Christopher Gosling, 38, was knocked down by a car driver in Sheffield. He pulled up at traffic lights to speak to the driver after he had been forced to swerve to avoid hitting his car. The driver knocked him down, breaking his leg, and sped away.

Paul Conlon was jailed for four years for the manslaughter of Wayne Margrave, who was lying injured in a road in Leeds following a hit-and-run accident, in January last year. Conlon was angry at traffic delays caused by the accident and drove through the jam, crushing to death Mr Margrave and injuring a woman.

A doctor was beaten by a man wielding an iron bar in Earls Court, London, last September. Rajram Musa, 34, was jailed for six months in April for the attack on Stephen John, after the doctor had sounded his horn when he saw Musa driving the wrong way down a one-way street.

Paul Erkiert, 41, who regularly attacked women drivers, was jailed for six months in April.

Animal aggression drives motorists to violence

Increase in violent confrontations blamed on defence of territory and preservation of personal space as traffic jams grow

Sarah Boseley

TWELVE years ago, "road rage" was invented by the Los Angeles Times to describe the violence meted out by a pick-up truck driver, who shot dead a Cadillac driver after being cut up on the freeway.

They may have found an apt form of words, but neither the newspaper nor the truck driver invented this form of aggression. Peter Marsh, a psychologist, found newspaper clippings dating back to the 1920s, featuring "people leaping out of cars and bashing each other's headlights". If road rage is becoming

more frequent and serious, it is because we are now jammed bumper to bumper. We see our car, said Dr Marsh, as an extension of our personal space, and like animals we defend that space when we feel it threatened.

"People in a car have one of those rare opportunities in their lives for total self-determination. You decide how fast you are going to go, whether you will play loud music or eat a sandwich," said Dr Marsh, who works for an independent company called MCM Research.

In January, the Lex Report on Motoring found that up to three-quarters of drivers had been victims of some sort of road rage. Last year, there were 1.8 million cases of drivers forced to swerve or pull off the road by other motorists, and 250,000 who had been physically attacked. In a further 800,000 incidents, drivers were threatened and 500,000 had their cars deliberately driven into.

An AA survey last year found that 90 per cent of motorists had experienced road rage during the previous

12 months. More than 60 per cent said they had suffered aggressive tailgating (a car too close behind them), but only 6 per cent admitted doing it themselves.

An AA spokesman said: "Studies of animal behaviour have shown how rats and various primates can respond aggressively in response to overcrowding. It is reasonable to suggest that humans respond in a comparable manner." The RAC has for some time been lobbying government departments for action to curb

road rage. "Our repeated calls have been met with inaction," its spokeswoman said. Both motoring organisations urge drivers to stay cool and mind their manners to avoid succumbing to road rage or becoming a victim. Do not bite back, they say — never assume something that annoys you was intended to be aggressive. Do not "have a go" or try to teach another driver a lesson. If threatened, lock the doors and windows and drive to a built-up area or service station sounding your horn and flashing your lights.

Iraq accepts UN oil for food deal

Ian Black in London and Mark Tran in New York

THE international stranglehold on Iraq loosened yesterday when Saddam Hussein agreed to a United Nations plan to allow him to sell oil to buy food and medicine for his suffering people.

The United States and Britain — anticipating that Baghdad would present the deal as a prelude to a wider relaxation of sanctions and Iraq's eventual rehabilitation — insisted sanctions would remain.

The White House hailed the deal as an "important victory" for the UN while Malcolm Rifkind, the Foreign Secretary, said sanctions were unlikely to be lifted while President Saddam remained in power.

The agreement, under UN Resolution 986, allows Baghdad to sell \$2 billion (£1.33 billion) worth of oil over six months and buy food to be distributed under strict international supervision. President Saddam's decision to accept it after years of

insulted rejection and months of fitful negotiation is a calculated volte-face he hopes will boost his position. Diplomats said President Saddam might try to divert existing resources from illicit oil sales to finance arms purchases.

Washington and London say sanctions must stay until Baghdad pays compensation to victims of the Gulf war, releases all prisoners, and cooperates with the UN commission tracking down Iraq's arsenal of missiles and nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons.

The pact is expected to reduce petrol prices worldwide. It will go some way to defusing criticism of the maintenance of the punishing oil embargo even though civilians have borne the brunt of its impact and President Saddam's position remains entrenched.

About 30 per cent of oil revenue must go into an escrow account to pay claims against Iraq. Between \$130 million and \$160 million every 90 days must go to the Kurds. Mr Rifkind blamed President Saddam for causing his people suffering.

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Catholics find compromise archbishop

Madeline Bunting
Religious Affairs Editor

ABATTLE between rival Catholic factions is expected to end today with the naming of a compromise candidate, Patrick Kelly, the Bishop of Salford, as the new Archbishop of Liverpool.

He had been widely tipped as the most likely and popular choice to succeed Derek Worlock who died last February. He shares with Archbishop Worlock a conservative approach to theology and doctrine combined with a concern for social issues and commitment to ecumenicalism.

Speculation in Liverpool had prompted fears that the Vatican would impose a conservative to appease traditionalist critics of Archbishop Worlock's alliance with his Anglican counterpart, David Sheppard, in a city which has

been riven by sectarian feuds for generations.

The announcement due to be made in Liverpool this morning will be greeted with relief by both critics and supporters of Archbishop Worlock as the best compromise.

His appointment follows an unusually comprehensive consultation of all the members of the English Conference of Bishops by the Vatican since Archbishop Worlock sent in his resignation to the Pope in March 1995 following his 76th birthday.

Bishop Kelly, 57, has been Bishop of Salford for 12 years, and will bring considerable pastoral experience to bear in what is considered one of the toughest jobs in the Catholic Church, running the archdiocese of Liverpool which has one of the greatest concentrations of Catholics in England.

He was rector and lecturer at Oscott college, a seminary in Birmingham where he established a reputation as an astute theologian.

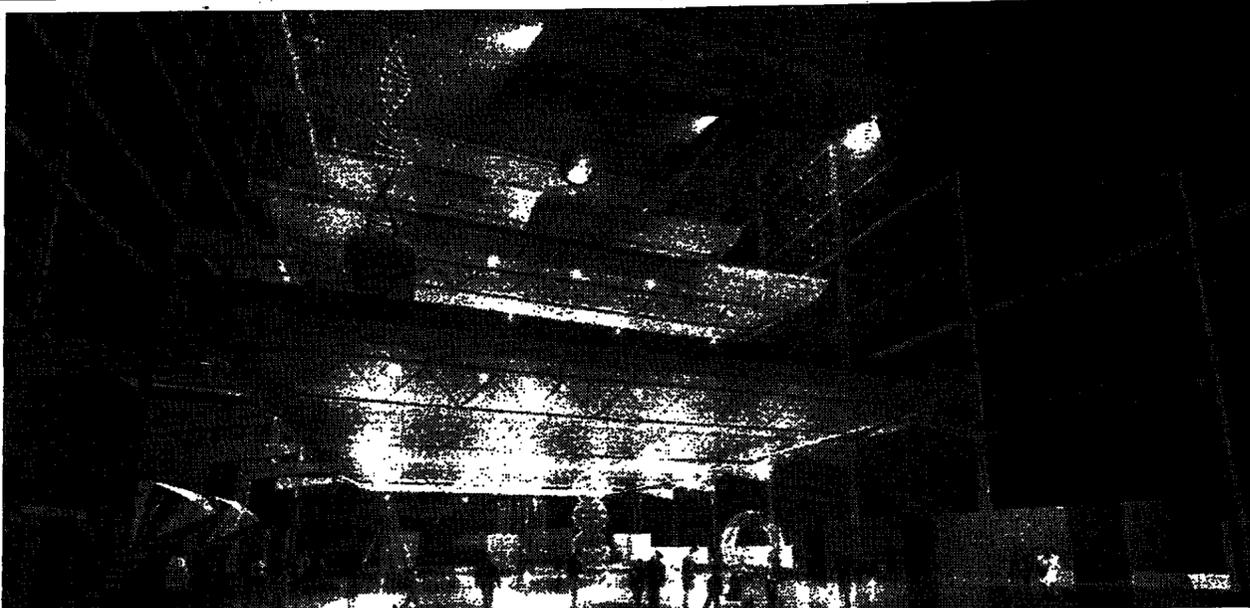
Born in Lancashire, he is at home in the North-west where he is regarded as accessible and down to earth. He has built up a reputation for imaginative development of church teaching.

Bishop Kelly will play a crucial role in the Catholic Church in England into the next millennium, particularly as Basil Hume, Archbishop of Westminster, has intimated that he would like to retire.

His appointment also leaves the way open for one of the other front runners for the Liverpool job, Vincent Nichols, Bishop of North London, to take over at Westminster.



Patrick Kelly: conservative with social concerns



The Wellcome wing, to be built at the Science Museum in London by 2000 at a cost of £44 million, has attracted the biggest lottery award so far to the sciences

£23m lottery cash to house the future

Science Museum plans millennium wing for tomorrow's findings. Tim Radford reports

THE Science Museum in London is to get £23 million from the Heritage Lottery Fund towards a new £44 million wing to display inventions and discoveries that have yet to be made. It is the biggest lottery award to a museum so far and

the biggest single award to the sciences. It will be added to £15 million promised by the Wellcome Foundation for the Wellcome wing, to be opened in 2000. The museum has 250,000 objects, including 112,000 items collected by Sir Henry Wellcome, founder of the pharmaceutical company.

Some of the museum's existing collection will furnish a new gallery to tell the "story so far", as a gateway to the science of the future in the new wing. This is likely to be science from the cutting edge: artificial intelligence, biomedicine, biotechnology and nanotechnology.

Scientists now are inserting luminescence genes from jellyfish into cereal plants to make them glow when stressed by fungus attack, and

sticking "antifreeze" genes from arctic flounder into fruit so that crops can withstand late frosts. Others are contemplating machines that could cruise the arteries, dismantling clots and eliminating coronary thromboses.

The museum's dilemma has lain in its role of preserving the science of the past and explaining the science of the future. "We are also collecting the stuff of today, so most of the objects in the Wellcome wing have not been acquired yet," said Sir Neil Cossons, director of the Science Museum, yesterday. "Some have not been invented yet. Some will come straight off the pro-

duction line. In fact our collectors get things before they get on to the production line."

The museum's collection — hardly more than one tenth is on show — includes the instruments collected for George III, relics of the US Apollo space programme and the famous steam engines of the industrial revolution.

Some of it is housed in an old government building near Olympia in London; other stuff, including a Pan American Constellation airliner and a run of BSA motorcycles, occupies hangars at an airfield near Swindon.

The London museum, in South Kensington, is also

headquarters of the National Museum of Science and Industry which includes the National Railway Museum in York and the National Museum of Photography, Film and Television in Bradford. One relic at South Kensington is the model of the double helix built by Francis Crick and James Watson in Cambridge when they deciphered the structure of DNA.

The museum attracted 1.6 million visitors in the year to March 31, an increase of 20 per cent on the previous year. It puts the Science Museum fifth on the British Tourist Authority's list of attractions that charge for admission.

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Great house 'left to rot'

Maeve Kennedy
Heritage Correspondent

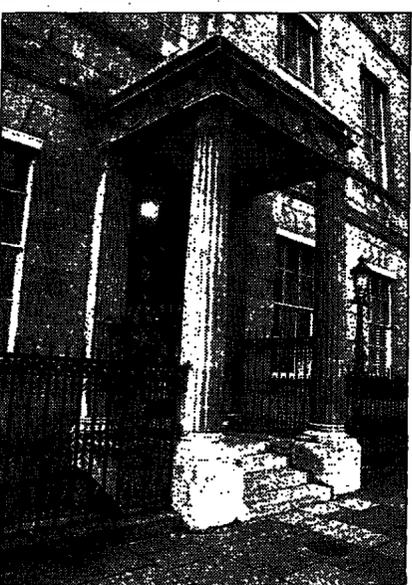
ENGLISH Heritage yesterday served a compulsory purchase order on a Grade I listed Robert Adam mansion in central London left empty and decaying for five years by a Nigerian-backed investment company.

Both sides agree that Chandos House, in Queen Anne Street, Westminster, has been neglected for years, but English Heritage said it was forced to act because it is rotting — while the owners say repairs have started.

A spokesman for owners Fairgate Investments, an offshore investment firm chaired by Nigerian Chief Akindele, said it was "a long sorry saga", but repairs had begun this week and they were prepared to spend £3 million on full restoration.

Sir Jocelyn Stevens, chairman of English Heritage, said yesterday: "We are not prepared to see this outstanding building suffer any longer from disgraceful neglect by the owner."

Chandos House was bought by Fairgate Investments for a reported £5 million in the late 1980s, just before the property boom collapsed. Company spokesman Michael Simmons, who called the purchase an aberration, said it had cost his clients a fortune



Chandos House in London, which, according to English Heritage, has fallen into decay under its Nigerian owners

as "the most expensive pigeon roost in London".

A proposal to convert it into a hotel failed, and the firm was unwilling to sell for less than it paid. If the compulsory purchase succeeds it could lose up to half the purchase price, but can appeal to the Environment Secretary against the order.

English Heritage would pay an independently assessed market price, less the cost of repairs estimated at £800,000. The property, built by the Adam brothers in 1769, is one

of the best surviving Georgian town houses and was first occupied by the third Duke of Chandos in 1774.

From 1815 to 1871 it was the embassy of the Austro-Hungarian empire, and the setting for famous parties given by Prince Esterhazy.

Of late, Chandos House appeared in Emma Thompson's film of Sense and Sensibility, as the London home of the Dashwood family — but damp and dry rot are now threatening the magnificent formal rooms seen on screen.

New EC rules may threaten Rolls-Royce grille

Vivek Chaudhary

THE famous Rolls-Royce front grille could become a thing of the past if new safety rules are approved by European transport ministers.

The European Commission has compiled a draft directive that says that the bonnets and front bumpers of cars should be rounded and lowered to reduce the number of pedestrians killed.

If approved, all new cars would have to meet the standards by 2005. No new cars now on sale meet the proposed requirements.

Most of the research in this field is carried out at the Transport Research Laboratory in Berkshire. Brian Hardy, a scientist there, said: "The new regulations would affect all cars and at the moment the EC is backing them but we are having to fight certain battles."

"Some cars like Rolls-

Royce, with their upright fronts would find it hard to meet the new proposals."

The main point of contention between the EC and car manufacturers was the costs involved.

"We estimate that it would put an extra £11.50 on each car but the car industry claims that it would be around £1,000."

"But in terms of costs we would be saving a lot more by reducing the number of deaths and serious injuries."

The most powerful and some would say most aggressive woman in British boxing, she is Frank's unofficial and by all accounts autocratic manager. Woe betide those who, on receiving a No from Laura, try to sneak round the back to obtain a Yes from Frank.

Mary Riddell G2 cover story

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Man who killed four to be deported to Glasgow Parole is likely for multiple murderer

John Mullin

ONE OF Australia's most notorious multiple murderers will be deported to Scotland if his plea for parole is accepted this week. He will settle in Glasgow.

It is the fifth time Archie McCafferty has tried to gain his freedom following his convictions for three murders and a manslaughter. The indications in Sydney are that he will succeed, after 23 years. The minimum term was 20 years.

The Australian authorities have already contacted Glasgow city council to ask that it house McCafferty, now in his mid-40s. The council said yesterday it had a legal obligation to do so.

Neighbours of one of McCafferty's cousins are angry about his plans to allow the murderer to stay at his Glasgow flat while he waits to get his own home. Other relatives want nothing to do with him.

McCafferty emigrated with his parents from Glasgow to Australia when he was 10, but never applied for citizenship. His mother, Clementine, aged 71, still lives in Sydney and believes he is reformed. Officials said he would be given a one-way ticket to Scotland.

He told his latest hearing before the New South Wales Offenders Review Board: "For what happened 23 years ago, I can't apologise enough. I have no inkling to hurt any person. I haven't thought about that since 1978/79."

He turned to murder after his son Craig died in 1973, smothered at six weeks when his mother fell asleep when breast-feeding and rolled on him. He left his wife and led a gang of teenagers, and was



Archie McCafferty: served 23 years of life sentence

said to be high on drugs when he committed the murders. He had a criminal record, and had told psychiatrists of his enjoyment in strangling cats and chickens. He had sought help, and his mother hoped marriage in 1973 would help him settle.

After killing his first victim, a 50-year-old tramp, stabbing him seven times, he told another gang member his dead child had spoken to him from a mirror with the instructions: "Kill seven. Kill seven." He said he believed if he killed that number his son would be reborn.

McCafferty took the gang to his son's grave three days later, and told them his son was speaking to him. He abducted a car driver, Ronald Cox, a father of seven, and shot him in the head. Evangelos Kollas, another driver, died similarly the next day.

He was arrested with fellow gang members the following night. They were said to be on their way to kill his wife, Janice, and mother-in-law.

Heavily tranquillised at his committal hearing, he asked to make a statement. He said he wanted to cut off the head of one barrister. He explained that would put him close to his target of seven.

Three prison psychiatrists disagreed over his sanity but agreed he should never be released.

The jury decided he was sane. McCafferty shouted from the dock he would kill another four.

He was convicted of the manslaughter of another prisoner, which he denies. Staff at Berrima, one of Australia's oldest jails, say he had been a model prisoner for 15 years.

A young married Christian couple who took him on a day out with prison permission, were left shaken when he spoke of his crimes.

William Ward, a retired judge, and the board's chairman, rejected McCafferty's last application in 1994. The board was not satisfied his violent urges had passed. But this week's decision will take into account new evidence on McCafferty's behaviour.



Nick Goulden of Sotheby's with an early 20th century birdcage to be auctioned at a sale at Billingshurst, West Sussex, today PHOTOGRAPH: ROGER BAMBER

Headstone plea after first black soccer player is traced to pauper's grave

John Duncan
Sports Correspondent

AN APPEAL has been launched to buy a headstone for the grave of Britain's first black footballer, Arthur Wharton, who died of cancer in 1930 and was buried in an unmarked pauper's grave.

The fund has been started by the Sheffield-based campaign Football Unites, Racism Divides, which was launched last month to win greater access for black people in Sheffield to watch and play football.

Wharton played in goal for Preston North End, Sheffield United, Rotherham Town, Doncaster Rovers and Stockport County in a career that began in 1886.

The grave was discovered by Wharton's niece, Sheila Leeson, after Phil Vassili, who is writing a book on black British footballers, placed an advert in the Rotherham Advertiser asking for information.

Wharton suffered the racist abuse that was to be felt by the modern wave of black British footballers — he was once put in hospital by opposition Rotherham Swifts fans who kicked him in his first season at Rotherham Town.

Milton Brown, who is co-ordinating the fundraising



Arthur Wharton, sprinter

efforts, will ask black professionals to assist in the appeal. "Wharton broke new ground for black sportsmen when ignorance was the order of the day."

Wharton, whose father was a Wesleyan missionary from Grenada and whose mother was the daughter of a Scottish trader, was also a British sprint champion and set an unofficial record for the 100 yards at Stamford Bridge in July 1886, finishing at 10 seconds for heats and final.

He worked the last 15 years of his life as a colliery haulage hand at the Yorkshire Main colliery, near Barnsley. He was buried in Edlington, South Yorkshire.

Arthur Wharton Memorial Fund: 0114 273 5638

MP gets Channel 4 apology

Andrew Cull
Media Correspondent

CHANNEL 4 has been forced to make an unreserved apology to a Conservative MP after filming him beside an 8ft inflatable penis.

Jerry Hayes, MP for Harlow, had agreed to put on a bear costume for a spoof youth television show in the first series of the Mark Thomas Comedy Product, but he drew the line at dressing up as a penis, saying: "That is a perfect tabloid picture... if

you take a video-lift of me with this, I'm f---ed."

In the apology, broadcast after its viewer response programme Right to Reply, Channel 4 said Mr Hayes did not know the cameras were running at the time. "It was an honest mistake, but getting the formalities right is important," a spokesman said.

The show, which sought to expose the lengths to which MPs go to court publicity, was made by the independent company Lawless Films Ltd. MPs from other parties also took part.

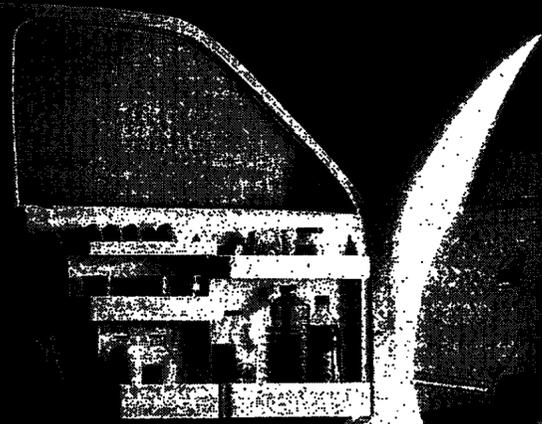
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AIR CONDITIONING AS STANDARD? THAT'LL BE THE DAEWOO

Tragic cost of allies' hidden hostility



Surprised by the machinations of the Foreign Office, hawks in President Bill Clinton's new administration were belatedly able to wrest control in a fierce transatlantic battle to end the war in former Yugoslavia, writes Ed Vulliamy

"I LEARNED to treat Britain as a hostile power," a senior official in the US state department said. "Britain was prepared to go to the wall against us on Bosnia — out to block anything, everything."

This was all-out diplomatic war, waged by Britain against her closest ally, over American attempts to intervene against the Serbs. "I came to think of the British as like having the Russians around the state department," the diplomat continued. "Your guys were usually so refined, but they were going crazy on this. I got one preemptive visit from a Brit about a memo I hadn't even finished writing. Damn, someone came up to me in Safeway's on a Saturday and collared me about the arms embargo."

The Bosnian crisis was spilling out of control by the time President Bill Clinton took office in January 1993, and his administration pledged to act. But his officials were confronted immediately with the monolithic power of Britain's Foreign and Commonwealth Office, disproportionately to that of the country itself. This backstage transatlantic struggle rent the alliance until the end of the war, when it would be concluded by the Americans with a final push from the United States ambassador to the United Nations, Madeleine Albright.

In a memo revealed by the Guardian today, Ms Albright urged the "American-led collapse of Unprofor" — the British-led UN forces on the ground. The collapse duly occurred, and the Americans took control.

Britain's apparent debt to Serbia was one of the remarkable themes of the war. US

analysts and intelligence sources posit a number of explanations. There was a harking back to the second world war with a contemporary twist: to American annoyance, Belgrade had been a "mine of information on the Soviet bloc" for the British, one former US intelligence officer said.

There was also the British diplomatic formula, dating from the 19th century and the 1930s, that the strongman — however unsavoury — was the best guarantor of order in trouble spots.

The exponent of policy on Bosnia was the Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, and its main architect was Dame Pauline Neville-Jones, the Foreign Office's political director, who had a British intelligence background. The premise was that the Serbs had to be dealt with, not defeated.

By comparison, Mr Clinton's team was inexperienced and divided. The national security adviser, Anthony Lake, "saw Bosnia as a moral dilemma," said an aide; the secretary of state, Warren Christopher, was a pragmatist *par excellence*; and the president himself was embarrassingly green. However, the hawkish "air strike" wing of American policy-makers — Ms Albright at the UN and a generation of young staffers — was confident enough.

The British had moved in early, responding to the tumult over Serbian concentration camps. The Prime Minister, John Major, called the London Conference of August 1992. "The temperature was rising," a diplomat on the US team said. "We went hoping there was going to be a turn for the better."

Viktor Jackovitch, later America's first ambassador to

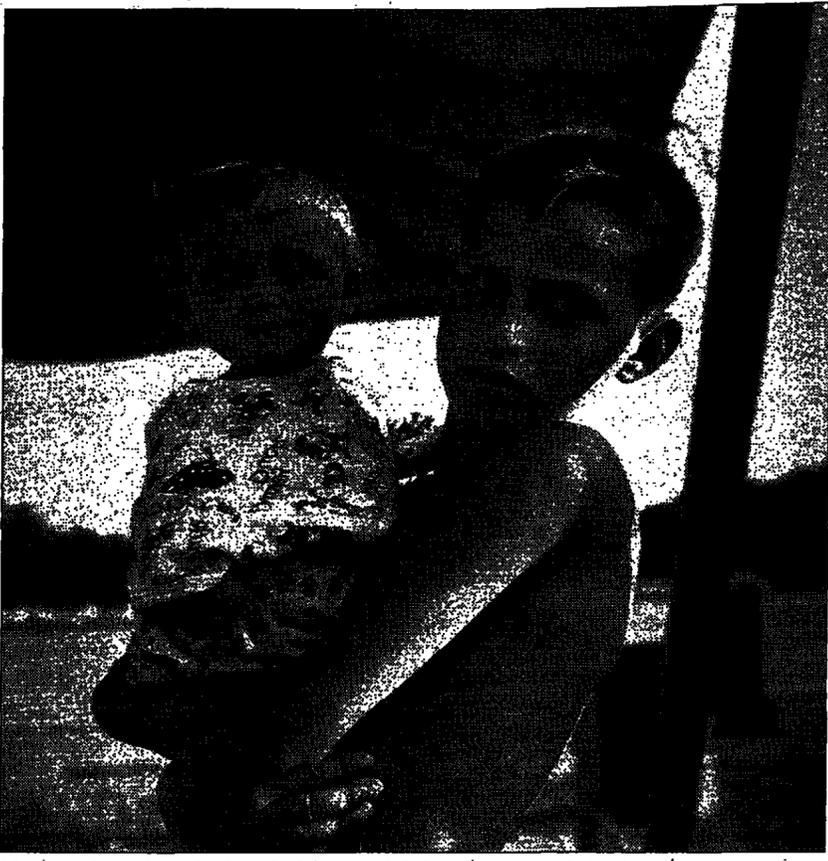
Sarajevo, and now in Slovenia, recalled: "We had difficulty finding out what London was trying to do. It was hard to get information about the agenda. When we got there we realised what was happening: a pressure valve. Allow the Serbs to make promises and accept them knowing they had no intention of keeping them. It was a landmark in handling the war, and brilliant by the British — a beginning of the policy of doing nothing."

The administration's initial hallmark was "lift and strike" — lift the arms embargo on Bosnia's Muslims, and hit the Serbs from the air. The British contested both. President Clinton took the idea to the brink during the Srebrenica debate of spring 1993, only to pull back and host a summit which established "safe areas".

By now, Mr Clinton was spinning like a weathercock in a gale between rival camps in his own capital and the British, headed by Mr Hurd. However, a European compromise over "lift and strike" was closer than has been supposed. Mr Major had visited Mr Clinton on February 24, 1993. A source inside the meeting told the Guardian they struck a deal: Mr Major would back air strikes if Mr Clinton maintained the embargo.

The accord was stillborn. Days later, a US diplomat held a party, and invited a senior British colleague. "We won, we got 'strike'," the host crowed. The reply came: "Oh, that Clinton-Major thing. Hurd has turned it all around. The Prime Minister's deal, he said, had been overruled by the Foreign Secretary. 'Every time we kicked the tyres from under the Brits, we got Hurd,' a witness to the deal said.

The British opposed almost every American initiative: even airdrops of food, let alone



A brother and sister seek refuge in Tuzla after last year's Serb onslaught against Srebrenica. PHOTOGRAPH: ROGER HUTCHINGS

air strikes. One of Ms Albright's aides saw British foreign policy "enacted through the UN. The British would find the lowest common denominator, the least action possible, knowing that was what the UN would go for."

The strategy was so successful that when Ms Albright queried the UN secretary-general, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, over reluctance to authorise air power, he replied: "My hands are tied. The commanders take orders from London and Paris."

A US official at the UN revealed that Britain's ambassador in New York, Sir David Hannay, was author of crucial clauses to the "safe areas" resolution, which specified that Unprofor and Nato could only use force in response to attacks against UN soldiers, not against the "safe areas" themselves. This rule would lead to the denial of successive air-strike requests, including that for strikes against the Serbs advancing on Srebrenica in 1995.

The turning point in Washington was the Bihac crisis of late 1994 which left the international community clueless. "The policy of pressure on the Serbs was in ruins and it was getting very nasty with the British," a state department official said. "America was finally being called on its position, and Nato was falling apart."

America caved in to the Europeans: Mr Lake conceded that the US should recognise a "Serbian entity" to preserve Nato. The hawks appeared routed. Meanwhile, a hidden, separate pincer movement was initiated in January by Ms Albright and the US ambassador in Zagreb, Peter Galbraith, fronted by the bombastic special envoy Richard Holbrooke. In the event, they outflanked the British, achieved the Dayton accords, and ended the war.

How was it done? The fundamental British defence of its actions all along had been that America deployed no ground troops in Bosnia, whereas the British army was the backbone of Unprofor, and vulnerable. The Albright-Galbraith plan was this: get Unprofor soldiers out of harm's way so that air attacks could be escalated.

During the hostage crisis of May 1995 — with UN soldiers chained to lampposts — Mr Galbraith lobbied the UN envoy, Yasushi Akashi, to pull his men back for fighter bombers to get a free run. Mr Akashi rejected the idea but, to his horror and that of the British government, the new British commander of Unprofor, General Rupert Smith, had sided with Mr Galbraith.

GEN Smith was dealing unofficially with the Americans, and one of Ms Albright's aides recalls a meeting at which the general told her: "Madam, I am not one of those with a big mouth and small stick."

One of the few allies of the hawks in the Pentagon was the chief of the navy, Admiral Mike Boorda, who committed suicide last week. He had fine-tuned plans for intervention, and now there was a stand-off between Adm Boorda and Sir David Hannay in New York.

Adm Boorda insisted that Unprofor could be deployed in such a way that bombers could attack. Sir David replied that he doubted the admiral would risk American lives in

that way. "I am offended that you think I would risk a British soldier's life any more than an American's," Adm Boorda thundered.

Ms Albright, according to one aide, would instruct her staff "to find out every day how many UN forces were still on Serb territory — until after Srebrenica in July 1995, when the figure was zero".

Mr Holbrooke and Ms Albright were also engaged in a piece of diplomatic engineering involving France. A US diplomat explained: "There was only one thing the British feared — a Franco-American alliance that left them out. We said to Holbrooke, 'If you want to do something about London, go to Paris.' The newly elected president, Jacques Chirac, duly came in behind the Americans."

On the ground, Mr Galbraith was negotiating with Croatia's president, Franjo Tudjman, on the future of the Serb-occupied Croatian Krajina. During the 1994 Bihac crisis, when the town was swarmed by Serb artillery based in Croatia, Mr Galbraith recalled: "I went to the president and said I had a request unprecedented in the history of diplomacy — 'May we bomb your country?' He said: 'Let's do it.'"

Now in the summer of 1995, there was another Serbian push against throttled Bihac, and Mr Galbraith feared that if the Serbs took it "we faced another Srebrenica, involving 40,000 people". The key to saving Bihac was to take the Krajina, and that was the state department con-

ceded "that if Nato was not prepared to save Bihac, we had no reason to stop the Croats from doing so". The official said: "The Croats were the only people around who could strike the fear of God into the Serbs."

The crunch finally came for Mr Clinton when his emissary, Bob Frasure, and two other diplomats were killed in a car crash near Sarajevo. "It was a domestic agenda for Clinton, and a domestic loss pushed him over the edge," one official said. Domestic *realpolitik* now dictated that Mr Clinton "needed to turn this into a leadership question. He was going to pay a domestic price if he didn't pull something out of the hat."

Ms Albright moved into the breach. The president asked for three memorandums from her, from Walter Slocombe, the assistant secretary of state for defence policy, and from the state department. They would be reviewed at a meeting over the first weekend of August 1995. Ms Albright produced what was to prove a climactic and conclusive memo, marked "Secret" and addressed to Anthony Lake. Eight pages long, it was the blueprint for the end of the war.

THE memo, seen by the Guardian, lays out a managed "collapse of Unprofor", replaced by a two-pronged US "diplomatic and military initiative". It begins with an astonishingly frank submission that a continued Unprofor presence is "no longer in America's interests". The tone is impatient with the "European-led failure" to find a solution. "This time, to muddle through is not enough," she wrote.

Ms Albright suggested "American-led" action. She noted that US troops were to be deployed in the event of Unprofor's withdrawal. The deployment, she argued, should be "on our terms", not on Unprofor's. There follows a description of sticks and carrots on offer to all warring parties, with one big stick in particular: "Unless the military intervention by air and land Unprofor is given another six months before it is sacked. An aide to Ms Albright paraphrased the thinking: "Europe had us over a barrel, because they could say 'We are Unprofor'. Now our answer was: 'Then we'll get rid of Unprofor.'"

The memo took the Contact Group's demarcation of the Muslim-Croat federation and "Serbian entity" as the working map. There might have to be trading of territory, the ambassador's memo stated. She even offered the Gorazde pocket (seized by the Bosnians) in return for land around Sarajevo and in central Bosnia. The memo admitted that "population transfer" might have to be tolerated.

The military thrust, however, was pro-Bosnian. Ms Albright called it "modified lift-and-strike", which placed the Bosnian army under American tutelage. Specialist US units were promised to establish training programmes. Nato air forces were available to support the Bosnians and Croats so long as they fought within the agreed confines.

A failure in Bosnia would, she concluded, overshadow the Bosnian army under American tutelage. Specialist US units were promised to establish training programmes. Nato air forces were available to support the Bosnians and Croats so long as they fought within the agreed confines.

man, was giving evidence at the trial of Dusan Tadic, a Serb accused of rape, murder and torture at prison camps in Bosnia.

Meanwhile, Biljana Plavcic, Radovan Karadzic's "vice-president" who styles herself the Bosnian Serb Iron Lady insisted that Mr Karadzic was still president. — Reuter.

SOUTH AFRICA'S truth and reconciliation commission moved into its second phase yesterday, hearing lawyers for two convicted murderers plead for amnesty.

The killers, each serving 15 years for murdering a tribal chief in 1990, claim the crime was politically motivated.

The amnesty hearings began in Phokeng township in western Transvaal at the final centre where Chief Glad Mokgatle of the Bafokeng tribe was stabbed to death. The building was cordoned off with razor wire and armed police patrolled the township.

The chairman of the five-member amnesty committee, Judge Hassen Mall, began by pointing out that the convicted men, Boy Diale and Christopher Makgale, were not being re-tried.

Their lawyer, Brian Currin, said the killing took place in the context of a political campaign to overthrow Chief Lucas Mangope's corrupt Bophuthatswana government.

The Bafokeng tribe owned large platinum reserves in the area. Chief Mangope, in his attempts to gain control of the tribe's wealth, had come into conflict with the Bafokeng leader, Chief Lebane Moleleki, who was driven into exile in Botswana. The Mangope administration had

then appointed Chief Mokgatle tribal council chairman. On December 29, 1990, 10 members of the tribe confronted Chief Mokgatle on the steps of the civic centre. A fight broke out and he was fatally injured.

The amnesty hearings opened amid concern as to whether they will be successful in teasing out the truth behind the atrocities and conspiracies of the apartheid era.

But South Africa's president, Nelson Mandela, referring to the recently completed regional hearings at which victims of atrocities testified, said yesterday: "Already what has been revealed in the commission has given us a clear idea of what has happened in the past. You can imagine what it means to the next of kin of the victims of these excesses: people now know what happened to their beloveds."

"That is absolutely important if we are going to have reconciliation in the proper sense of the word," Mr Mandela said. It was vital that those not receiving amnesty were brought to book."

Johnannesburg's reputation as one of the world's most crime-ridden cities was reinforced yesterday when Lebenson's ambassador, Charbel Stephan, said he wanted to return to the safety of Beirut after being beaten by robbers in the second raid on his embassy in 10 days.

BETTER TIMES FOR BUSINESS.



LONDON GATWICK - HOUSTON
09.20 THU-FRI-SAT-SUN



LONDON GATWICK - NEW YORK/NEWARK
11.15 DAILY



LONDON GATWICK - HOUSTON
12.00 DAILY



LONDON GATWICK - NEW YORK/NEWARK
15.00 DAILY** (EXCEPT SATURDAY)

Continental Airlines has all the advantages of increased its services from London Gatwick to both its main U.S. hubs — giving business flyers a better choice of flight times and even more connections. There are now extra **Continental** Class fare. Which all adds up to better early morning services to Houston that get you here at lunchtime. And from June the only afternoon departure for New York that allows for a morning in the office. Flying BusinessFirst with Continental has all the advantages of limousines at both ends! Fast Track at London Gatwick not to mention First Class comfort and service in the air — all for a Business Class fare. Which all adds up to better times for business. For details see your travel agent or call Continental on 0800 747800.



*Monday flight operates from 27th June 1996. **From 23rd June 1996. Reservations are available to full fare paying passengers in the corporate travel and purchase orders in the UK, Ireland, Isle of Man, Jersey & Guernsey up to 90 days before departure. All other rates of other principal airports as well as all major US destinations served by Continental. Limitations apply to travel in advance.

Truth panel hears amnesty pleas

David Bernstein in Johannesburg

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Handwritten Arabic text: ١٥٥٠ ١٥٥٠

Troops surround palace in Bangladeshi capital

General defies political master

Arshad Mahmud in Dhaka and Suzanne Goldenberg

WAR was being waged last night among Bangladesh's top politicians for control of the military, with the army chief holding out against the president's order to resign, tanks on guard around the presidential palace, and ominous troop movements reported at some provincial barracks.

With less than a month to go before Bangladesh returns to the polls for the second set of general elections this year, the political struggle threatened to worsen the political paralysis which the June 12 ballot is meant to resolve.

Moments after a televised speech in which the president, Abdur Rahman Biswas, sacked the army chief, Lieutenant-General Abu Saleh Mohammed Nasim, tanks and jeeps carrying troops were seen moving toward the presidential palace in central Dhaka. It appeared they were there to protect the president rather than to oust him. Several dozen troops took up positions in front of the state radio and television stations.

In his speech, President Biswas said Gen Nasim disregarded his order to retire two

officers. Instead, Mr Biswas claimed, the army chief ordered troops loyal to him to march towards Dhaka in "a move tantamount to treason".

Mr Biswas announced the appointment of Major-General Mahbubur Rahman as the new army chief, but it was unclear whether he had succeeded in assuming command in the face of Gen Nasim's refusal to accept what he termed his illegal sacking.

The general denied the president's accusations that he was moving troops to topple him and said that he was committed to upholding the civilian government.

Last night, however, unusual signs of activity were reported at barracks in the northern towns of Bogra and Mymensingh and in the port of Chittagong.

The showdown came after Mr Biswas — the commander-in-chief and a senior member of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party — tried to retire two very senior officers on Sunday reportedly without consulting the army chief.

The two men are Major-General Morshed Khan, commander of Bogra district, and Brigadier Miron Hamidur Rahman, deputy director-general of the paramilitary Bangladesh Rifles. The president accused them of "anti-army activities".

In retaliation, Gen Nasim ousted four senior officers whom he suspected of collaborating with the president.

Behind Gen Nasim's sacking lies the bitter rivalry between the two leading political figures in Bangladesh — the Awami League leader Sheikh Hasina Wajed, and Begum Zia, the BNP leader who lost power in March.

President Biswas accused Gen Nasim of "involvement with political parties, indiscipline and inciting trouble among the troops". This appears to mean that he suspected the army chief of siding with the opposition firebrand, Sheikh Hasina. Many army officers have taken an active part in politics, and have mainly sided with the Awami League.

Some newspapers have accused the president of running a parallel government in violation of the constitution and with the aim of undermining the caretaker government of Mohammed Habibur Rahman.

By a constitutional amendment hurriedly pushed through by Begum Zia's outgoing government, the defence portfolio was given to the president, a move that provoked condemnation from abroad. The president aimed at putting the military under BNP control.



ALONE firefighter uses a tree branch in a desperate attempt to extinguish a blaze in Mongolia, as officials agreed plans to use foreign aid to help combat dozens of fierce fires ravag-

ing the country. But they warned yesterday that flames slumbering deep underground continued to pose a threat.

Fires that had previously been considered safely contained by fire breaks or rivers were being spread by birds, the deputy governor of the northern province of Bulgan, Damba, said.

"Birds with flaming wings have flown over fire breaks

and dropped dead on unburned areas, sending new fires out of control."

The State Emergency Commission, meeting in the capital, Ulaanbaator, approved foreign financial

aid to cover firefighting costs such as food, and fuel. Nearly £1.2 million has been pledged, of which £200,000 has been received. — Reuters

PHOTOGRAPH BY HAJI HALAZAR

Tribal fault lines under Israel's poll landscape

Derek Brown and Jessica Berry in Jerusalem

THE government that emerges from Israel's general election on May 29 will be a fragile coalition — that much is made certain by an election system which reflects the country's ethnic, religious and ideological divisions.

The politicians and the pundits are already busily putting together putative alliances around the two candidates, for prime minister Shimon Peres, the Labour incumbent, and Benjamin "Bibi" Netanyahu, of the right-wing Likud bloc.

For the first time in Israel's 48 years, each voter will have two choices: one for prime minister, and another for a party list. The new system is expected to benefit the smaller groups vying for the attention of the electorate.

Some, like the party which rails against the tyranny of banks, may be safely discounted. Others will have a strong claim to the loyalty of well-defined sections of the electorate.

Most obviously, there are the 450,000 or so Israeli Arab voters. Those who vote in the prime ministerial poll are expected overwhelmingly to support Mr Peres as the champion of the peace process. But, having thus expressed their choice on the main issue, they will be freer now than in the past to opt for parliamentary candidates from their own community.

The other "ethnic" voters now being frantically wooed by the main factions, are the immigrants from the former Soviet Union: three-quarters of a million of them have arrived in Israel since 1989, and they are well established as a formidable, if not monolithic, political force.

In 1992, the Russians — as all post-Soviet immigrants are invariably known — were

Election factfile

- Polling day: May 29
- Electoral system: National party lists, proportional representation. Prime minister to be directly elected, for the first time.
- Threshold: Electoral threshold for representation: 1.5 per cent of national vote
- Candidates: 123 registered parties, 123 candidates
- Seats: 120 seats in Knesset, 12 seats reserved for Arab citizens
- Government: 61 seats
- Opposition: 59 seats
- Prime Minister: Shimon Peres (Labour)
- Deputy Prime Minister: Yitzhak Rabin (Labour)
- Foreign Minister: David Levy (Labour)
- Defence Minister: Moshe Arenson (Labour)
- Health Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Education Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Justice Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Agriculture Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Labour Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Transport Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Environment Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Science Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Culture Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Sports Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Tourism Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Social Services Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Housing Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Energy Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Information Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Regional Councils Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Religious Affairs Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Diaspora Affairs Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Peace Process Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Security Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Intelligence Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Military Affairs Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Veterans Affairs Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Holocaust Memorial Day Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Holocaust Remembrance Day Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Holocaust Memorial Day Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)
- Holocaust Remembrance Day Minister: Yehoshua Stemberger (Labour)

in menial jobs. And their resentment is deepened by an Israeli media tendency to tar all Russians with the brush of crime, prostitution and workshyness.

As a complicating factor, this election is being contested by a new faction, Yisrael be'Aliyah, which can translate as "Israel of immigration" or "Israel on the way up", and which is targeting the Russian vote. The party has scant resources but is a priceless asset: it is led by Natan Sharansky, the former Soviet dissident, prisoner of conscience and champion of political freedom.

This is his first foray into politics, but he has already stolen much of the limelight from the established parties.

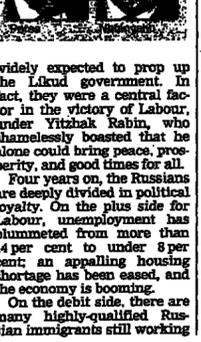
Election surveys have established a clear divide within the so-called Russian community. More than a quarter of post-Soviet immigrants come from the Caucasus and central Asia, and they are clearly inclined towards the right and Mr Netanyahu. But the majority, who come from European Russia, tend to be Peres supporters.

However, the picture is blurred by two more fundamental fault lines in Israeli society: that between religious and secular Jews, and within the former group, the divide between the Ashkenazi (Western) and the Mizrahi (Sephardic or Eastern) forms of observance.

Nahum Barnea, one of Israel's most respected political and social commentators, yesterday lamented the lack of ideological loyalty.

"Among most of the voters, the decision is not ideological," he wrote. "Nor is it personal. It is tribal."

Religion as a political factor is desperately hard to quantify. The religious vote is reliably said to be tilting towards the Likud leader, although spiritual leaders are unlikely publicly to endorse either of the prime ministerial candidates.



widely expected to prop up the Likud government. In fact, they were a central factor in the victory of Labour, under Yitzhak Rabin, who shamelessly boasted that he alone could bring peace, prosperity, and good times for all.

Four years on, the Russians are deeply divided in political loyalty. On the plus side for Labour, unemployment has plummeted from more than 14 per cent to under 8 per cent; an appalling housing shortage has been eased, and the economy is booming.

On the debit side, there are many highly-qualified Russian immigrants still working

Heseltine urged to raise Tibet repression

Andrew Higgins in Beijing

TIBETAN activists and the Labour Party last night urged Michael Heseltine to raise the Beijing authorities latest crackdown on supporters of the Dalai Lama when he meets China's prime minister, Li Peng, today.

In a drive to purge Tibet of allegiance to its exiled "God King", China has banned pictures of the Dalai Lama from schools and even from private homes after violent clashes between Buddhist monks and armed police.

The deputy prime minister, who has travelled in China with an entourage of 270 British businessmen eager for Chinese contracts, last night declined to give any commitment on the issue. Asked if he would raise Tibet with Mr Li, he said: "I have private conversations with the leaders of the Chinese government and I will maintain that confidentiality."

However, he did confirm that he would discuss Hong Kong, where concern is mounting over China's pledge of local autonomy after 1997.

The shadow foreign affairs minister, Derek Fatchett, said, "We are very concerned about these reports and I have asked the Foreign Secretary whether Michael Heseltine will raise this matter with the Chinese government while in Beijing."

"We believe that the rights of the Tibetan people to religious expression should be respected. We urge the Chinese authorities to investi-

Clinton to renew China's favoured trading status

PRESIDENT Clinton yesterday announced that he would renew unconditional Most Favoured Nation trading status to China, arguing purely on grounds of economic self-interest that the US should not curtail its trade with a country that "in less than two decades may well be the world's largest economy", writes Martin Walker in Washington.

"Our interests are directly at stake in promoting a secure, stable, open and prosperous China," Mr Clinton told the Pacific Basic Economic Conference yesterday in his first important policy statement on China since he sent two aircraft carrier task forces to support Taiwan in March.

"Revoking MFN and in effect severing our economic ties to China would drive us back into a period of mutual isolation and re-encrimination that would harm America's interests, not advance them."

Already supported by the Republican presidential candidate, Bob Dole, and by

the US corporate lobby, Mr Clinton's decision was opposed by liberals and human rights campaigners among Democrats, and by Taiwan's supporters and anti-Communists among Republicans.

China's foes are vocal. The rightwing Republican Pat Buchanan condemned Mr Clinton's "shameful appeasement" and a California Congressman, Dana Rohrabacher, warned that he expected the US would be "at war with China within the decade".

and nuclear test sites, have been long been the most resistant to Chinese rule, a tradition of unrest seen in Beijing as a perilous parallel with the separatism that destroyed the Soviet Union.

Beijing has given few details of recent trouble in either region but has hinted a serious unrest in local state-run newspaper.

A recent editorial in the Tibet Daily called on police to use a nationwide campaign against crime called "Hit Hard" to uproot separatism.

"In the 'Hit Hard' crackdown on crime we must relentlessly pursue and show no mercy to those splittists who transport, steal and hide explosives and firearms," the newspaper said.

The official organ in Xinjiang reported: "Ethnic separatism and illegal religious activities pose the main danger to Xinjiang's stability."

A court in the regional capital of Urumqi has jailed a Muslim man, Abuduwaiyt Alhamat, for three years for writing and distributing tracts "with the goal of splitting the unity of the motherland". The official newspaper said he had been spared a more severe sentence because he had shown repentance. Ten others were sentenced to death for crimes such as robbery, rape and murder.

Isabel Hilton, page 9

News in brief

Dole vows to oust Castro and end 'reign of terror'

THE Republican presidential nominee Robert Dole has vowed to overthrow the regime of his fellow septuagenarian, Fidel Castro of Cuba, writes Martin Walker in Washington.

In a speech to Cuban exiles in Florida, Mr Dole accused President Bill Clinton of a foreign policy that has "telegraphed weakness and indecision to the world".

Mr Dole said: "The appeasement policy of the Clinton administration will be replaced

by an iron resolve to bring Fidel Castro down and end his reign of terror in Cuba.

This is the first time since 1962 that any US presidential candidate has promised to topple what Mr Dole called "the washed out, isolated Communist regime in Cuba".

Still 22 points behind Mr Clinton in a Time magazine poll taken after his bold decision to step down from the US Senate and devote his time to campaigning, Mr Dole is fighting hard in Florida.

Briton among freed captives

THREE aid workers, including one Briton, kidnapped 10 days ago in the self-declared African republic of Somaliland have been released, a faction leader said yesterday.

British logistics officer Richard Copey and a German and a Somali, were rescued by villagers in Harard, 25 miles east of Erigabo, the provincial capital of Sanaag region. — Reuter.

French move into Bangui

HUNDREDS of French troops, some with tanks, fanned out in the Central African Republic's capital yesterday to quell a mutiny by soldiers who led looting of shops and businesses.

Official sources said seven people had died since soldiers protesting at the transfer of the army's armoury to the control of the elite presidential guard started a revolt in Bangui on Saturday.

They included two civilian looters whose bodies were found yesterday and a seven-year-old girl killed by a stray bullet before French troops took control of flashpoint areas. At least two mutineers were killed by presidential guardsmen.

By late afternoon, shooting had died down across the capital as mutineers and the presidential guard agreed a ceasefire. The defence ministry in Paris said about 1,000 French troops intervened after an appeal from President Ange-Felix Patasse, whose soldiers were revolting for the second time in a month. — Reuter

Warlord jailed

A Beirut court sentenced the former Christian warlord, Samir Geagea, and four others to death yesterday for the killing of a former militia member, Dr Elias az-Zayek, but commuted the sentences to life in jail. — Reuter.

Prayers for rain

Daily power cuts have become so bad in Sri Lanka, thanks to a monsoon being late, that government officials have joined Buddhist monks in praying for rain. — AP.

Property claim

Discounts on properties bought by Singapore's elder statesman, Lee Kuan Yew, and his son, Deputy Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong, were unsolicited, developer Hotel Properties Ltd (HPL) said yesterday after controversy over the deal. — Reuter.

Bomb kills one

A bomb blast at a bus stop killed an army sergeant and narrowly missed a busload of soldiers yesterday in the southern Spanish city of Cordoba. The attack was blamed on the Basque separatists ETA. — Reuter.

Pinochet claim

Former Chilean dictator, General Augusto Pinochet, aged 80, may seek the presidency again in 1993. Pinochet "may well run for an office higher than the senate" one of his closest associates, retired army General Jorge Ballerino, told the Santiago newspaper El Mercurio. Asked whether he meant the presi-

If you don't have these essential albums next to your midi system then you deserve no company and even less of a life... 17: Pan Pipes; Pet Shop Boys (1991); Pet Shop Boys hits arranged for pan pipes. Almost uncontrollable. Armando Iannucci

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sty pleas

How to curb the rage

Aggressive motorists can be made to change

THE first use of the phrase in a broadsheet newspaper was less than two years ago. Since then there have been over 700 references to the so-called new phenomenon: road rage. It is said to be sweeping the country with even the most law-abiding citizens indulging in the offence: individuals who use their vehicle to attack other cars or even get out and assault drivers who have infuriated them. The first reported incident — by a leading Jewish elder who got out of his Mercedes to attack a Buddhist monk in a Japanese car — provided all the necessary evidence for pop-psychologists to talk about personality changes which some people undergo once behind a driving wheel. Last Sunday's confrontation, which led to the death by stabbing of one driver, is bound to prompt more gloomy predictions of the decline of civilisation and the rise of violent man. Time for some perspective.

What is frequently ignored by commentators is the rise in road traffic: up 50 per cent in the last two decades and due to rise by 100 per cent in the next 20 years. Already nine out of every 10 passenger miles in the UK are accounted for by cars, vans or motorcycles. Two thirds of all households in Britain now have access to a vehicle. Some 25 million vehicles are registered in the country — up five million in a decade. So where once the motoring community was a minority, it is now a clear majority. Not only is there more chance that people with quick tempers, identify problems or pathological fantasies will have access to a vehicle but they are also, with the decline in alternative transport, more likely to be using their vehicles. That is one reason why thinking police chiefs believe the media is exaggerating the phenomenon.

Undoubtedly there is a small minority of pathological drivers, who need to be identified because of their suicidal — and homicidal — driving habits. They are being pursued by the police in unmarked cars equipped with video cameras. There is a second group of yobos, no different than the yobos found at football matches, fairgrounds or even on ski-slopes, intent on causing trouble to the vulnerable (women drivers, men with families or on their own) by tail-gating or other dangerous tricks. Mobile phones are the best deterrent to these troublemakers. But there is a third group of drivers, conventional and normally law-abiding, who may flip. It would be worth some police research.

There are some obvious ways in which a car can make people more aggressive, even if there were no frustrations like traffic jams or road blocks. There is the power, the illusion of the driver being in total control, and the "distance" which it creates between people in different cars. No driver needs to look the other in the eye. There is enormous power at the touch of a pedal. Worse still, airbags and seat straps can give a false sense of invulnerability. Then there is overcrowding with Britain's roads among the most over-used in Europe. Add these ingredients — potency, distance and overcrowding — together and it is no wonder that aggression rises. People lose inhibition as they get angrier. There are few more powerful weapons than a powerful car.

Yet all is not lost. People do modify their behaviour. Britain has just conducted one of the most successful "don't drink and drive" campaigns in the western world. There has been an enormous shift in attitudes. People have recognised the dangers of drinking and adjusted their behaviour. The same principles should be applied to aggressive driving: show motorists the consequences and they may modify their conduct.

The battle for Cyberspace

The one sure winner in the end is the consumer

WILL future generations look back on yesterday as the day when a death warrant was signed for the hitherto omnipotent personal computer and with it the dominance of Bill Gates and his Microsoft group? Oracle Corporation, the world's second largest computer software company clearly hopes so. Larry Ellison, Oracle's chairman, regards personal computers as much too expensive and far too complicated for most people. In order to open up a truly mass market, Oracle has stripped the PC of most of its expensive clothes like hard disk drives and expensive internal chips. Instead he is planning to introduce a "network computer" (or NC) which wouldn't even need today's pricey shop-purchased computer programmes. The NC links up to the worldwide Internet network of computers through a modem and will receive all of its software — from games to spreadsheets — from the Net. Nothing needs to be loaded in. Already an army of software developers is working on globally mobile software (called "applets") which can be called down from anywhere in the world where there is an NC.

Cyberspace just as Microsoft dominated the PC. At the moment some 80 per cent of PCs are occupied by Microsoft's operating system and software. But stand by for the war of the computer giants as Microsoft fights back to avoid being tumbled from its perch just as it outflanked IBM in years gone by. Although Microsoft is also developing Java, the new NC won't run Windows, the software on which Microsoft critically depends. Computer pundits think that Java software will initially find it easier to crack corporate markets than the home if only because the 70 per cent of homes without a computer will have to plug the new NC into existing television sets and phone lines (thereby risking family disputes about who uses what) since buying an expensive monitor would undermine the concept of cheap computing.

We are about to witness the digital equivalent of Star Wars as Oracle and others fight Microsoft for control of Cyberspace. The one sure winner from all this will be the consumer who can look forward to falling prices and the prospect of the digital revolution being spread to people who until now have felt themselves too poor to buy a computer of their own. Sadly for UK industry this appears to be a battle among largely American companies. As usual in the hi-tech race we look like being confined to seizing scraps which fall off the table. Cyberspace is Uncle Sam's back garden and he isn't going to let anyone in without a fight.

The hidden feel-good factor

Where we have been coining it: through our pension funds

BRITISH AIRWAYS' £94 million bonus for its 55,000 employees is an interesting example of how wealth can still grow even though wages are constrained. BA's annual pay settlement is a modest 3.6 per cent. But the bonus is equivalent to 7.5 per cent of pay representing a 42 per cent increase on last year's bonus. It won't appear in the Government's index of average earnings if the bonus is taken in the form of shares in BA — which over half of employees are expected to opt for.

BA's bonus, however, is nothing compared to the capital appreciation of pension funds during the last financial year. While average earnings have risen by 3.75 per cent, a typical pension fund will have risen in value by around 25 per cent (capital growth and dividend payments) if the fund rose in line with the increase in share prices. This is wealth appreciation not seen since the height of the housing boom during the late 1980s. Someone whose pension fund was worth £100,000 a year ago will be £25,000 better off now even if the fruits can't be enjoyed until retirement. Yet — unfortunately from the Government's point of view — this increase in wealth has done nothing to improve the "feel-good factor". This is because only a million of the 11 million people in occupational funds have "money purchase" schemes which tell them every year exactly how much their pension funds are worth. But this doesn't alter the fact that a major social change is taking place dividing the nation into the "haves" with wealth in their pension funds (about 18 million of us including those with personal pensions) and the "have nots". If a Labour government could spread these benefits to as many people as possible then the management guru Peter Drucker's phrase about pension fund socialism may come to acquire a new meaning.



Letters to the Editor

Loose footing on the Rock

Facing the end of educational freedom, to a degree

AS THE Guardian is a self-proclaimed champion of democracy, it is ironic that Martin Kettle's column (Between the Rock and a hard place, May 18) would seem to deny those same principles to the inhabitants of the UK's dependent territories.

Mr Kettle is quite wrong to suggest that the British public do not attach any importance to Gibraltar. The government office in London is constantly overwhelmed by the amount of interest and support we receive from members of the public, both Houses of Parliament, institutions and other associations.

It is also inaccurate to claim that Gibraltar is costly. The only cost borne by the UK for Gibraltar is that for defence purposes and, as Mr Kettle pointed out, this has reduced dramatically over the last 10 years. On a civil basis Gibraltar is entirely self-sufficient.

The people of Gibraltar are proud to be British and want to remain so. We are not a bargaining chip and will continue to campaign for the right to represent ourselves at negotiations concerning Gibraltar's future. May I suggest that the Guardian concentrate its efforts on helping us to achieve this goal, and does not dismiss the wishes of 30,000 British citizens in a most undemocratic fashion?

Albert Poggio, UK Representative of the Government of Gibraltar, Gibraltar Information Bureau, 175 The Strand, London WC2R 1EH.

IT IS incredible that the Guardian should, in shirking their historical responsibilities, express themselves in terms one would have expected from a 19th-century colonial governor.

Gibraltar does not cost Britain a penny. The last Chief Minister, Joe Bossano, made sure that when he refused the last offer of ODA concession money nearly 10 years ago. But 30,000 Gibraltarians have rights, however hastily Mr Kettle wants to wash his hands of his father's sins.

Mr Kettle should be urging Britain to have serious dialogue with Spain, which includes recognising the human and political rights of Gibraltar's population. Gibraltar needs a constitutional relationship with Britain which lets us get on with our lives but protects us from people who think only of their own interests. Slicing up land as gifts and wrecking communities is the stuff of despots.

Sahodra Stearle, 4 Library Ramp, Gibraltar.

THE Labour leadership's new line on higher education is expediency at the expense of serious political thought. Instead of trying to divert more resources into this vital sector it is asking the system to feed on itself.

The traditional self-serving argument for the huge graduate earnings differential is "it worked for it at university". New Labour's plans will add to the froth of conceit: "I've got to pay off my education costs." The rest is predictable. By staffing the entire state apparatus — and the manufacture of policy at Westminster — graduates already have their collective hand in the till. Upon the inherent benefits of a university education will now be heaped yet greater privileges, hallowed by even more bogus justification.

Instead of enabling the spectacular growth in student numbers to continue, self-funding will entrench our deepest divisions. Already a marker of class, a degree will replace the 11-plus as a means of mass exclusion.

Tom Stow, 33 Mundania Road, London SE22 0NH.

Hint of scandal

ROY Greenslade (Soundbites, not criticism, May 20) recent comments by journalists and politicians alleging a "crisis in journalism". Greenslade asks: "How often must we hear that politics has been trivialised because it deals with personalities rather than policies?" Perhaps he will consider some of the findings from my recent study of parliamentary reporting in the Guardian, the Times and the Daily Mirror since 1990.



Stories concerning scandal and alleged misconduct by individual MPs emerges as the third most popular subject from a list of 40 subject categories (almost 10 per cent of the 820 reports analysed). Reports of misconduct are much more likely to be covered than significant policy concerns such as education, health or race/migration issues. The modern world is a grown fivefold since 1990 while coverage of education and local government have

reduced to a quarter and one sixth of 1990 levels; and across all newspapers. Newspapers' attention to the private lives of MPs, rather than proceedings in Parliament, is not confined to the tabloid press but reflected in coverage in the Guardian (11 per cent of parliamentary stories), the Times (3 per cent) and the Mirror (10 per cent). Little wonder that one journalist claimed that the coverage of politics had become like football, with "people more interested in Cantona than the match".

Journalists' obligation to work in an increasingly competitive market, have responded too frequently by reporting news which interests the public rather than news which is in the public interest. Bob Franklin, Department of Sociology, Sheffield University, Sheffield S10 2TU.

Another heroic hundred?

ROY Hattersley (Endpiece, May 20) is right to say that despite our many achievements the unions have changed and must continue to change, but still have "a crucial role". The modern world is far more complex than when the unions set out on Roy's "heroic 100 years". Today there are many competing groups each with a legitimate claim to be heard by government and politicians. Unions cannot rely on a simple relationship with one party — we must seek to influence all those with access to power, whether in Westminster, Whitehall or Brussels. But these changes do not mean that unions no longer have a role. Today's deregulated labour market has seen a growing gap, not just between rich and poor but between those with regular employment and increasing numbers dependent on casualised jobs paying poverty wages —

rather as 100 years ago, in fact. There are many workers who not only need the protection of a union but also legal rights such as a minimum wage that can be won by political action and lobbying by unions. But today's unions also seek to be partners in prosperity, helping good companies and the country succeed in an increasingly competitive world. Last week the TUC was able to report an increase in union recognition deals over the last six months, with a particular increase among white-collar employees. Out of Britain's top 50 companies, 48 recognise unions. The next 100 years may not be as heroic as the last, but unions will be just as necessary as in the past. John Monks, General Secretary, Trades Union Congress, Great Russell Street, London WC1B 3LS.

No backing for hitting back

WHAT a lot of dangerous nonsense Cosmo Landesman spouts (No more Mr Nice Guy, 20 May 16). No anti-bullying worker advocates "turning the other cheek" when victimised, but there are far better ways to assert oneself than to "throw a punch". "I hit back, and the bully never bothered me again"; they remind me of the pro-caning argument that "it never did me any harm". We know from research that hitting back is not a particularly successful

strategy, frequently leading to an escalation of violence. Many schools are trying to create an atmosphere where bullying is unacceptable: children are encouraged to report it; peer pressure is turned against the bully. The "hit back" mentality undermines these efforts, and legitimises the abuse of those who, for whatever reason, cannot (or will not) fight back. Mike Eslea, Anti-Bullying Project, University of Sheffield, Sheffield S10 2TF.

Prize exhibit

THE proposed V&A extension is amazing. Who could have imagined that it was possible to create a feeling of nostalgia for caruncles? David Walton, 15 The Farthings, Marcham, Oxon OX13 6QD.

CONGRATULATIONS to the V&A on being so economical with its press conference. Mind you, bringing in the introduction of 25 entry charges as an afterthought does tend to distract attention from this sad capitulation to government indifference. Tom Egan, Jerkito, Egrywysrww, Dyfed SA41 3UP.

WHY is Michael Winner's opinion always sought on debates regarding the film industry, as it was over the video release of Natural Born Killers (May 17)? This is like asking the Duchess of York's opinion on literary matters. Alan Seaman, 227 Shaw Lane, Markfield, Leics LE97 9PW.

AM I the only person who did not put their time forward to BST in March and decided to remain on GMT for the William Butterfield's Bill failed. I have been wondering just how necessary British Summer Time is. At the very least I believe every household should keep one clock set at GMT all the year round, out of respect for Greenwich Mean Time, Britain's natural time. Paul Newbold, 27 Hamilton Way, Wallington, Surrey SM6 9NJ.

No sanction on suffering

MAGGIE O'Kane rightly draws attention to the suffering of the Iraqi people (The wake of war, Weekend, May 18) as a result of shortages of food and medicines. Over the past five years, while Saddam Hussein has prevaricated about UN Security Council resolutions — including the latest, No 986, which would enable him to sell oil to the value of \$1 billion every 90 days for the purchase of humanitarian supplies — he has had no difficulty funding the building of 48 new palaces, the drainage of the southern marshes to destroy the marsh Arabs' way of life, and the clandestine purchase of weapons and military technology. The money could have been applied to health and welfare, which are exempt from sanctions.

According to the UN Special Rapporteur on Iraq, Max van der Stoep, Iraqi forces continued their attacks on farming communities along the internal frontier with the Kurdish region in the north. I was in Erbil last August when the city was hit by Iraqi artillery fire. Wheat and barley crops were destroyed, as well as livestock, in that region and in the south. The Special Rapporteur also mentions health problems caused by contaminated water. Unicef sponsored a treatment programme but the chlorine powder supplied was diverted to the black market. Apart from the everyday hardships endured by the Iraqi people, thousands are arbitrarily detained and tortured. Penal amputations, were still being enforced in the south during the spring and summer of 1995. Hundreds of people are still missing as a result of Saddam's illegal occupation of Kuwait. Saddam is now said to be on the point of agreeing to Resolution 986. We must insist that the United Nations do control the proceeds of oil sales, because otherwise the money would be used to intensify the dictator's control of the people, and to enhance his military capacity. Lord Avelar, Parliamentary Human Rights Group, House of Lords, London SW1A 0AA.

A Country Diary

SOMERSET: In Yeovil I was hailed by a young man whom I had last seen 25 years ago, when he was a schoolboy and his family ran a vineyard in Sussex. I wondered whether he was in the wine trade, or perhaps a merchant banker. It was refreshing to hear that he was a stonemason who had trained at Wells Cathedral and later at Salisbury and was happily pursuing his craft in this part of England where so much fine local stone has made both humble and grand buildings and given cities, towns, villages and farms their particular character. We went on Sunday for lunch with friends who live at Aller, north of Langport. The village straggles either side of the road to Bridgwater, along the foot of a range of hills that border an expanse of peat moor. In this part of the county you suddenly find that, uniquely, much of the building, even of fine manor houses, is in

brick. Tall churches that stand up from the plain are the only buildings to offer work for the stonemason. The place has an old-fashioned, forgotten feeling. On an afternoon walk, we saw and heard almost no one. A solitary heron was the only thing that moved. The church and Aller Court stand together on what used to be an island, and still look marooned. The court is tall, cliff-like face on one side. It once housed a college of priests. The church has two fonts. The older was found in a pond in the rectory garden. At first they hoped it was the very one in which Guthrum the Dane was baptised. A leaflet says that "here in Aller began the spread of Christianity among the savage Danes". Sadly, the font that does not deny this unassuming village its place in the spread of Christendom. JOE VALLINS

Handwritten signature or note at the bottom of the page.

Diary Matthew Norman

MADONNA'S interview with the Sun, and then lifted wholesale by the Daily Mail. And no wonder. The result of apparently repeated translation into and out of Magyar, a gloriously funny instance of Johnny Foreigner struggling with his English. "Madonna, let's cut toward the humor. Are you a bold hussy woman that feasts on men who are tops?" was one question to which the answer went: "In America it is not considered to be mentally ill when a woman advances on her prey in a discotheque setting." It was truly hilarious stuff. But could this be because it was written by a professional humorist? What neither the Sun nor the Mail mentioned is that the "interview" came not from the American periodical Time, but from the American Satirist Garry Trudeau. He wrote the whole piece, something vaguely hinted at in the standfirst's use of the word "imagination". Perhaps the Sun wasn't aware, the Mail, meanwhile, is excusing Trudeau's warning "our brilliant writer, with tongue firmly in cheek" - but, even so, it's more than enough to drive madly editor Paul Deere's nails into his back. May Day, May Day. Sketchley's alert, Sketchley's alert.

SPAKING of the Sun, I am amused to note that paper's wounded response to Robin Cook blaming it for the Shadow Cabinet infighting. Given Tony Blair's assiduous courting of the Sun and its owner, one might be tempted to see this as trouble-making on Mr Cook's part (except, of course, that there isn't any infighting anyway). Last summer, Mr Blair described Sun coverage of Labour affairs as "better than the Guardian". But if Mr Cook is right, there is hope that we may be getting our noses back in front.

AN insolent letter arrives, bearing the familiar signature of Dr Julian Lewis, the radio ham of Tory Central Office. Julian says that he is not a fan of proportional representation after all, in fact, he hates it. This, two weeks after he went to a pro-PR meeting. What an excruciating burden for a chap it must be never to be able to make up his mind.

NOKI magazine, down-market rival to Esquire, has come to the attention of the hidden gems of modern journalism. It is Brendan's Brainstorm, an entire page of "brain teasers" from "Gyles Brandreth, Britain's puzzle king" (the biggest puzzle, of course, being how he came to be the Tory MP for Chester). Most sparkling is a feature called Libel, in which readers must decide which of three statements about someone is false. This week it is Jean Claude Van Damme. Two of the statements have the strong scent of truth, while the other claims that Mr Van Damme - who looks very young in the picture - is 54 next birthday. Tomorrow, we join Gyles for Celebrity Square.

HOW good to see claims that is has become a tame New Labour mouthpiece being vigorously rejected by New Statesman editor Ian Grew. Hugh Kerr, a left-wing Labour MEP, wrote to the magazine complaining that it "has become a less critical and more New Labour news-sheet", and Mr Grew has moved swiftly to refute the charge. In a tough, no-nonsense counter-strike, he simply refused to publish the letter. Indeed, when Mr Kerr and some colleagues offered to pay £480 for an advert expressing their remorse, this too was turned down. The advert will now appear in Tribune and Red Pepper.

READER reports observing a curious manager of modern life in Soho last week. In the doorway of a clip joint sat a woman, calling out enticements to passing punters. Then she saw a traffic warden writing a ticket. "Oi," shouted the woman from the sex shop, "why don't you get yourself a proper ***** job?"



Money matters on the campus

Commentary John Gray

LABOUR'S decision to end free university degrees should be welcomed. By committing itself to making graduates pay back a proportion of the costs of their maintenance grants, as reported in the Guardian on Saturday, Labour has shown itself willing to make a hard choice in a key area of policy. There is no way in which the expansion of higher education can be maintained without transferring some of the costs to its ultimate beneficiaries. Provided that as companies expand to seek leaner methods of production and lighter forms of management, universities have had imposed on them costly and impenetrable layers of management and assessment. As companies experiment with novel styles of post-Fordism, universities are lumbered with an unwieldy apparatus of intrusive and counter-productive monitoring. Academics are required to submit five-year intellectual plans, whose relevance to fast-changing bodies of knowledge is unavoidably

higher education into a centrally planned economy. This has left universities over-bureaucratised, demoralised and less flexible than before in responding to new needs. At the same time, the hope that lifelong learning, promoted by further university expansion, can diminish the growth of unemployment, or remedy insecurity in working life, is an illusion. Universities cannot solve the central problem of late-modern Britain: to become globally competitive while providing access to meaningful work to those excluded from the productive economy. The result of Tory higher-education reforms is an anachronistic bureaucracy of almost Soviet proportions. At a time when industry continues to seek leaner methods of production and lighter forms of management, universities have had imposed on them costly and impenetrable layers of management and assessment. As companies experiment with novel styles of post-Fordism, universities are lumbered with an unwieldy apparatus of intrusive and counter-productive monitoring. Academics are required to submit five-year intellectual plans, whose relevance to fast-changing bodies of knowledge is unavoidably

remote, but on which they and their institutions are then assessed. The apparatus which now oversees universities resembles most closely the command economy which produced the Trabant car - an uncomfortable, noisy and smelly mode of transportation. The centrally planned economy of higher education in Britain today is not so much Fordist as Trabantist. Government policy towards universities is often criticised, with good reason, for attempting to turn them into replicas of business enterprises. Yet the model which has informed the Tory nationalisation of universities is not that of contemporary business practice. It is rather the discredited managerialism that most businesses did away with a generation ago, and which was a dead weight on innovation in the old Soviet bloc. It is difficult to see how universities can be resourceful and forward-looking institutions so long as they are weighed down by this anachronistic bureaucracy. Indeed, if it is left in place, one can confidently predict that intellectual energy will continue its leakage from universities. They will end up as semi-functional and culturally marginal institutions. This is, after all, a fate that has befallen universities in many other countries.

including those of the former communist bloc. Labour's commitment to continued university expansion rests on the belief that it advances social mobility and fosters economic renewal. It is true that universal access to higher education is a vital need of any progressive and fair society. More need not mean worse. Equally, recurrent retraining will be indispensable for many of us in any foreseeable future. But lifetime learning will not reduce job insecurity. Nor, except in the rather long run, can it make the economy more efficient or more responsive to change. Above all, it is important to remember that nowhere in the world have retraining programmes had any large or enduring effect on rising joblessness. The prospect that lifetime learning can do more than dent unemployment is a mirage.

A RISK in much current thinking about universities is that they are being asked to help solve economic problems of which their leverage is negligible. This is understandable, given the need to justify public spending on universities in ways that show some tangible benefits. It is nevertheless risky. Universities that are perceived mainly as adjuncts to economic policy are vulnerable. They are likely to be further starved of public funds when they are seen not to be delivering the economic pay-offs that are expected of them. They are prey to ill-conceived organisational reforms designed to bring them closer to a managerial culture that is not demonstrably more effective than their traditional ethos. The biggest risk of higher-

education policies which offer more than they can deliver is political. Policies which promise distant economic benefits from public spending on universities invite scepticism. An electorate that yearns for a modicum of security in social and economic life will not be impressed for long by talk of a skills revolution. The logic of more than doubling the number of students in a decade will be questioned if - as is plainly the case - a university degree offers no protection against life on the dole. The most urgent need of the electorate at present is for security - for dependable public services, safety in public places, and the credible assurance that if they lose their jobs they do not stand to lose everything. They want job security but are not easily persuaded that anyone knows how to provide it. They will not be inclined to trust a government which tells them that economic security can be delivered by increased numbers in higher education.

No western industrial society has yet reconciled the pursuit of technological productivity, forced on us all by unrelenting global competition, with fair access to the world of work to all. This is the challenge that sets the hardest long-term agenda for Labour. The difficulties Labour will confront in framing policies that have real leverage on this problem are enormous. But if there are workable responses to it, they must be found at the heart of economic policy, not in proposals for further expansion of universities.

John Gray is a fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and a member of the Institute of Management's Wake (Routledge). Hugo Young is away

Business as usual versus human rights



Isabel Hilton

IT WAS one of those unhappy coincidences of timing that even spin doctors can do little to affect: the US administration is locked for another battle with Congress over the renewal of Most Favoured Nation status for China. Congress, unhappy with the deterioration in human rights in China since President Clinton set the precedent of human rights and trade, is prepared for an argument. President Clinton, who has until June 3 to put Congress on notice of his intention to renew, chose yesterday for his announcement. As the administration was drafting its text, in Beijing an official admitted to a western news agency that house-to-house searches were shortly to get under way in Lhasa.

Dalai Lama. Other major monasteries have been closed to outsiders, and the armed patrols that have been on the streets of Lhasa for more than a week have not yet succeeded in their mission to educate the faithful in this elementary spiritual point. Sadly, even schoolchildren do not seem to have grasped it, rendering it necessary to search schools, too, for the dangerous photographs.

At the heart of this misunderstanding is a difference of opinion on the nature of religion. The Chinese view, succinctly expressed in the People's Daily last November, is that "... in all the countries of the world that value their own independence and dignity, religious belief and patriotism have always been unified. A qualified religious believer should, first of all, be a patriot. Any legitimate religion invariably makes patriotism the primary requirement for believers." Since in Beijing's view patriotism for Tibetans consists of holding China in high regard and longing to remain under Chinese control, it follows that the Dalai Lama, who has rashly preferred exile, has forfeited his religious credentials.

Thus far the argument is familiar. There is, though, a qualitative change in the vigour with which the Chinese are trying to enforce this tortured logic. It has been an important part of the Chinese claim internationally both that there is religious freedom in Tibet and that the majority of Tibetans are happy under Chinese rule. To set up roadblocks around Lhasa, and to force violent clashes in some of Tibet's most important monasteries, opens an embarrassing breach in that fiction. The question, then, is why it has occurred.

THE Dalai Lama does not, despite Chinese propaganda, insist on independence for Tibet. For more than 10 years he has, at the risk of unpopularity with many of his own more radical followers, offered to negotiate Tibet's status on the basis not of sovereignty but of internal autonomy. The Chinese have ignored these overtures and now they seem to be set on erasing his image entirely.

But this sits uncomfortably with the international claim that Tibetans enjoy religious freedom, and there is a price to pay in terms of loss of face abroad. It is possible, though it would be surprising, that the Chinese feel the situation in Tibet is so unstable that they have no choice. It seems more likely, though, that having tested the will of western governments to defend the values they proclaim, Beijing has concluded there is nothing to fear. If it was the latter, then it must have been gratifying to Beijing to note that, for President Clinton at least, it was business as usual yesterday.



Back in the USSR

Ken Livingstone finds Gennady Zyuganov, Communist and the popular choice to replace Boris Yeltsin, to be patriotic, controlled, firm - and more than a little like Tony Blair

IT IS normally unheard of for a humble back-bencher to be granted an hour-long interview with the party leader. He is in excellent form, passionate and convincing as he talks about his concerns: "the unprecedented attack on the values and moral ideals of our life"; the need to "render every possible assistance to the family... to crack down on organised crime and corruption". He is one of the few left-wing politicians who can say without embarrassment "I love my country," and proclaim that "the ideals of kindness and justice are the essence and purpose of my life". Were I to close my eyes, I could almost believe myself to be in the office of Tony Blair - instead of listening to Gennady Zyuganov, the Communist Party candidate for president of Russia. Even when Zyuganov talks of the use of "direct state control, where necessary", and how he favours a "varied social and economic structure", he could be quoting from one of New Labour's recent policy documents.

the electoral fraud conducted by Yeltsin's supporters. Most estimates say 10 to 15 per cent of the vote can be rigged - and if last December's parliamentary elections are anything to go by, this is true. Yeltsin's party led the polls in Chechnya even while he was bombing it. His best results came from the vast military bases where international observers were excluded on "security" grounds, and in areas such as Tatarstan which are run as one-party states. I was amazed by how quickly I gained access to Zyuganov. There were none of the ostentatious trappings that surround so many senior politicians. His office is purely functional and he makes notes with a cheap pen on a plain writing pad. Apple juice is available out of a carton. His inflections and body language make him one of the easiest-to-read politicians I have met. His background is revealing. He is consistently refused promotions to Moscow under the corrupt Brezhnev regime. He arrived only once Andropov had taken over and launched his campaign against corruption. I first heard Zyuganov's name four years ago when the Communist Party was illegal, its assets seized and most of its leaders gone off to run capitalism. In those days he was confined to a small office with broken furniture, but I was told that he was the person

who held all the keys to relations between the Communists and the patriots. He firmly repositioned the Communist Party as the patriotic defender of Russia, winning over millions of ordinary people who were originally seduced by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and the extreme right. He now has the backing of over 100 separate organisations reaching well beyond the Communist Party. Zyuganov has very clear views on Russia's external relations. "The break-up of the USSR was a disaster which crippled every farmer-republic," he says. "Co-operation in the CIS is not carried out. We shall take all the necessary measures for voluntary restoration of fraternal ties between Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan. They will lay the foundations for the stage-by-stage voluntary rebuilding of the union." He points out it is "hypocrisy" to argue that France and Germany might move towards a single federal state, but that if Russia and Belarus reunite this suggests "imperialism". He is equally firm on Poland: "We are against sabre rattling and NATO's expansion towards the East." He believes it is purely aggressive to extend NATO to Russia's borders, a position shared by every Russian politician. He makes it clear he is prepared to give undertakings and guarantees to ensure the security of Poland, but says that the West

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Jon Pertwee

A doctor for all time

WITH his shock of white hair and impressively craggy features Jon Pertwee, who has died aged 76, will be remembered by adults and children alike as one of the most authoritative and believable players of Dr Who in the BBC's children's serial.

Pertwee, however, had many more strings to his bow in his eclectic career as comedy actor, cabaret artist and guitarist. He was for two generations part of the English comic tradition in film, television and — especially — radio. His cabaret took him from smart clubs to Butlins, but his radio performances took him into a zany other-world where his 50 different voices first made his popular reputation. His hobbies were as frenetic as his work — motorcycling, water-skiing and scuba diving.

In radio, to which his surrealism was ideally suited, his manic catchphrases that became part of the nation's common speech, such as the one which, coldly analysed, meant little or nothing even at the time: "What's it matter what you do as long as you get 'em?" There was also his "Intelligence man" who briefed his superiors in an incoherent gabble like a demented turkey.

Pertwee was born in Chelsea, the second son of the playwright, painter and actor Roland Pertwee, and his actress wife Avira. His surname was an Anglicised version of the true family name Perthuis de Lallevaux.

After leaving school in 1936, he failed the audition for the Central School of Dramatic Arts whose principal predicted that the young hopeful had no future in the theatre. Undaunted he auditioned for, and was accepted by, the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art. Its principal, Kenneth Barnes had little faith in his talent and Pertwee was expelled after allegedly scribbling obscenities on the wall. He did however secure a place in the final year of the Arts League of Service Travelling Theatre, directed by Don-



Pertwee's *Worzel Gummidge* scored a massive hit worldwide and the scarecrow became TV personality of the year in 1981

mitments, sent Pertwee along in his place. This was his break into commercial radio. To supplement his income, he also worked as an extra at Denham Film Studios, appearing in numerous productions including *Dinner at the Ritz* (1936), *A Yank At Oxford* (1938), *Young Man's Fancy* (1938) and *The Four Just Men* (1938).

When war broke out Pertwee joined the Navy as a wireless operator. In 1940 he was drafted on to HMS Hood but at the last moment was transferred to train as an officer cadet. Shortly afterwards the ship was sunk with almost all hands.

In an incendiary bomb attack on the barracks at Portsmouth, Pertwee suffered a severe blow to the head. He was dropped from the officer cadet course and posted to the Isle of Man where he formed the Service Players, a small company of local amateurs and servicemen.

In 1942 Pertwee joined the cast of Eric Barker's forces radio show *Mediterranean Merry-Go-Round*. It was in this series that he was first able to indulge his flair for accents, and played numerous memorable characters.

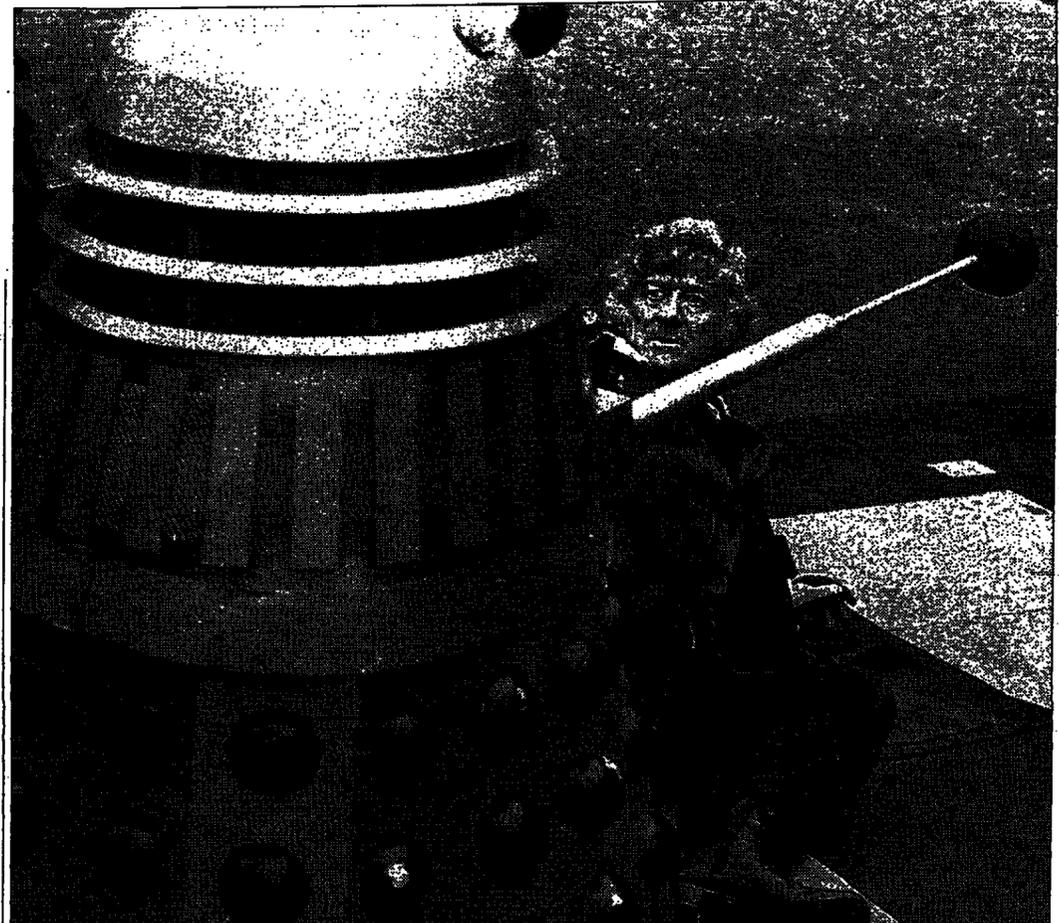
In 1948 the fictional HMS *Waterlogged* became the subject of a spin-off show entitled *Waterlogged Spa* in which Pertwee created perhaps his most memorable radio character, the Postman, with that catchphrase: "What does it matter what you do as long as you get 'em up?"

Although Jon had been appearing in films since 1936, he received star billing for the first time in 1953 with George Cole in *Will Any Gentleman?* in which he met his first wife Jean Marsh. They were married in 1955 but the marriage quickly broke down. On a sliding holiday to Kitzbühel in February 1958 he met Ingeborg Roeska, a young German dress designer, and immediately fell in love. Pertwee was divorced from Marsh in 1960 and married Ingeborg the same year.

In 1963 Pertwee was asked by the BBC's Head of Light Entertainment if he had any ideas for a new radio comedy series. Out of these discussions came *The Navy Lark*. The series mined a rich vein of cock-ups at sea and ashore and for 18 years gave him scope to create his most manic characters.

During the 1960s, Pertwee continued his career in film and appeared in several productions, including three of Carry On films: *Carry On Cleo* (1964), *Carry On Cowboy* (1965) and *Carry On Screaming* (1966). He also enjoyed successful stage tours in *A Funny Thing Happened On The Way To The Forum* (1963-1965) and *There's A Girl In My Soup* (1966-1967).

In 1969, Pertwee was working on an episode of *The Navy*



EXTERMINATE! EXTERMINATE!... the Daleks were Dr Who's most dangerous adversaries. Pertwee played the time lord from 1970 until 1974

Lark when one of his co-stars, Tenniel Evans, mentioned that Patrick Troughton was leaving *Dr Who* and that Pertwee would make an excellent replacement. Pertwee was sufficiently intrigued to talk to his agent. He eventually played the time-travelling Doctor from 1970 until 1974, battling Daleks, Ice Warriors, Sea Devils and many other alien life forms with a succession of young female companions.

Shortly after leaving *Dr Who*, Jon hosted a quiz show called *Whodunnit?* for Thames TV. He also appeared in the film *One Of Our Dinosaurs Is Missing* (1975) and an episode

of television's *The Goodies* before returning to the theatre in the hit musical *Irene* (1976-1977).

Worzel Gummidge came about in 1979 after writers Willis Hall and Keith Waterhouse asked Pertwee if he would like to play the spongy, mopey living scarecrow in a film they had written based on Barbara Euphan-Todd's books. The film did not go ahead but Pertwee persuaded Hall and Waterhouse to prepare a pilot script for a television series. This was eventually picked up by Southern Television and became a massive international hit. *Worzel* was even named as TV per-

sonality of the year by the Variety Club in 1981. The series came to an untimely end when Southern Television lost its franchise and its successor, Television South (TVS) declined to take up the series. A co-production deal was eventually secured in 1987 for further episodes to be made in New Zealand.

In the 1990s, Pertwee continued to work on stage with numerous roles including 1992 and 1993 as Jacob Marley in *Scrooge The Musical*. He also provided character voices for a game based on Terry Pratchett's *Discworld* in 1995.

Pertwee returned several times to reprise his Dr Who role. He appeared in the 20th anniversary story *The Five Doctors* (1983), starred in the stage play *Doctor Who - The Ultimate Adventure* (1988) and starred in the radio plays *The Paradise Of Death* (1993) and *The Ghosts Of N-Space* (1996).

Pertwee was also in constant demand for science fiction conventions, cabaret appearances, after-dinner speaking and guest slots on a great number of TV, radio and video productions. Earlier this year he was touring in two different productions, one an evening of music and comedy and the other his popular and successful one-man show *Who Is Jon Pertwee?*

Throughout much of his career, which spanned more than five decades on stage, radio, film, television — and even a time with Billy Smart's Circus — Pertwee was a staunch supporter of the Grand Order of Water Rats. Above all else, Jon Pertwee maintained a deep respect for others in his profession, and remained a showman and a gentleman to the end.

David Howe's biography of Jon Pertwee will be published by Virgin later this year.

Jon Pertwee, actor, born July 7, 1919; died May 20, 1996

Jane Cowan

Putting passion into the cello

JANE COWAN, who has died aged 80, was an inspired cello teacher whose passion for music affected all who came into contact with her. As Jane Harvey Webb, she had been regarded as a highly promising cellist, whose teachers included the great Feuermann.

When she was a girl in Edinburgh, she had had lessons in general musicianship with Donald Tovey, whose musical thinking hugely influenced her. She liked to describe the occasion when, arriving at Tovey's studio, she was told to take out her cello and play through the Beethoven A major cello sonata with a small bald man who was seated at the piano. At the end of the first movement, she turned to the pianist enthusiastically: "Gosh, you are musical!" She was right — the "pianist" was Pablo Casals.

After her marriage to Christopher Cowan, a distinguished head of music at St Albans, Uppingham, and later Wincchester, she devoted herself mostly to teaching and mothering. The Cowans had three

children of their own, Francis, Maevie and Lucy (all now musicians), and adopted three more — Henri, Helen and Irina Zarb.

Her teaching talents were recognised when Casals recommended her to head the International Cello Centre in London in the late 1960s. Despite the imposing name, this tiny school became Cowan's base for the rest of her active life.

In the mid-1970s she moved north to her husband's family home, Edrom House in Berwickshire; the Cello Centre moved with her. I was with her there between the ages of 10 and 17, and often returned to play to her later. She could fervent musical idealism and demanded similar commitment from her students. Her rages could be terrifying, and sometimes unreasonable, but, in the course of a good lesson, a student could suddenly be able to play better than ever before.

Cowan's teaching was a wonderfully organic blend of technical and interpretative insights; violinists, violists



Cowan... musical idealism

and pianists could benefit as much as cellists from her views on the use of the body in music-making. She also gave illuminating, if idiosyncratic, classes in music history and theory — and even in French and German. Several of the best-known names in the authentic-instrument movement owe their introduction to early music to her wide knowledge and enthusiasm.

In her last years, tragically, her mind was gradually overtaken by Alzheimer's; the exaggerations, absent-mindedness and abrupt changes of subject that had seemed part of her eccentric genius revealed themselves to have been the start of that sad disease. Her influence will live on.

Stephen Isserlis

Jane Cowan, cello teacher, born June 9, 1915; died May 8, 1996

Joseph Stone

At Nuremberg with Flick

JOSEPH M Stone, the American lawyer who led the prosecution against German industrialist Friedrich Flick for war crimes at the Nuremberg trials, has died at the age of 79. Although he prosecuted the case with vigour, Stone was not greatly upset when the court gave Flick the relatively light punishment of seven years in prison.

"He always said he regarded Flick as better than some of the others," said Stone's widow, Estelle.

It was a comment which might possibly have weighed with the Oxford dons who decided last month to turn down the offer of Friedrich Flick's heir to sponsor a chair of European Studies at the University.

Stone was, by the end of his life, still questioning himself about the nature of the justice that he had sought to do at Nuremberg. Last month, at a 50th anniversary reunion of the American team of lawyers and staff at the Nuremberg trials, Stone compared his own legal mission against the Nazis with the current trial for war crimes in Bosnia, now under way in The Hague.

"We had a lot of things going for us. The Nazis were docile witnesses because we had them in jail, and we had complete control of their land," he told the reunion in Washington.

The 150 surviving members of the US legal team at Nuremberg decided at their reunion to put on record a resolution that was time now for "a permanent international criminal court". But they did so knowing that international politics and human justice are a difficult mix.

"The trial was hardly over before we got into the cold war, and everybody fixated on that situation," the reunion was told by William Jackson, chief aide to his father, Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson, the chief US prosecutor at Nuremberg. "It was the popular belief that we would need a strong Germany to stand allied with us against the Soviets some day."

Known as "the steel king" before and during the war, Friedrich Flick was a war crimes defendant of great symbolic importance. For the Soviet Union, he embodied the alliance between capital-

ism and Hitler and was thus an object lesson in Stalin's argument that Nazism was "capitalism run mad".

But Flick was not to fall into Stalin's clutches. Arrested by the Americans, he was the first of a series of industrialists to be tried in the second wave of war crimes trials at Nuremberg. It was 1947. The Nazi military and political leaders had already been tried and convicted by a multi-national court, which included American, British, French and Soviet judges.

But for Flick and the second wave of defendants, the international court had already disbanded, in effect falling victim to the cold war. Charged with crimes against humanity by using slave labour, Flick was spared a Soviet judge, went to trial before an American military tribunal, and was treated far more leniently as a result.

He was released after five years, in 1950, and set about restoring his reputation and his fortune as the richest man in Germany. Estimated at some \$400 million at the end of the second world war, his

wealth was almost beyond counting by the time of his death in 1972. He owned 40 per cent of Daimler-Benz, which in turn through cross-holding gave him much of Deutschebank, and insurance and property holdings.

The Flick case was the high point of Stone's legal career. He had graduated from New York City College and then from Brooklyn Law School in 1939, and went to work for the Labor Department. He continued at the Labor Department through the second world war, becoming a leading expert on labour and industrial law. According to 1947, he was assigned to the Nuremberg staff, as assistant to Telford Taylor.

After the war crimes trials, he returned to the Labor Department in Washington. He then became a labour arbitrator, and helped found the National Association of Utility Contractors. He is survived by his widow, two daughters, a son, and five grandchildren.

Martha Walker

Joseph Stone, lawyer, born March 5, 1917; died May 6, 1996

Birthdays

Dr John Armitage, principal, College of St Hilda and St Bede, Durham. 64; Michael Crick, television journalist. 38; Malcolm Fraser CH, former Australian prime minister. 66; David Hunt, MP, former Conservative minister. 54; Terry Lightfoot, jazz clarinetist, bandleader. 61; Denis MacShane, Labour MP. 48; Leonard Manasseh, architect. 80; Dr Leonard Mullins, rubber physicist. 78; Dipak Nandy, founder-director, Rummyned Trust. 60; Andrew Neil, broadcaster and columnist. 47; Rosalind Elworthy, soprano. 47; Harold Robbins, novelist. 80; Mary Robinson, president, Republic of Ireland. 52; Baron Guy de Rothschild, banker. 87; Prof Sir David Smith, president, Wolfson College, Oxford. 66; Prof Stanley Wells, director, Shakespeare Institute, University of Birmingham. 66; Robert Welch, designer and silversmith. 67; Desmond Wilcox, broadcaster. 65.

Death Notices

SURON, Hilary, died 8.5.96 after a courageous struggle for the in America. Her home for many years. Missed by friends here and in Britain. Loved by her son, John, and her family. Funeral in Family Flowers only, donations 23 May. The Royal Hospital for Neuro-Disability, Putney, London SW15 2EJ. Tel: 0171 727272. To place your announcement telephone 0171 713 4667. Fax 0171 713 4129.

Jackdaw



off the beaten track, perfect for a quick getaway.

7. The Rocket.
- From the light car company. Don't attempt any extraneous movements in this car, though girls will be like jelly when you reach your destination.
- Lotus Carlton.
- It's got the grunt and the space.
- VW Beetle.
- It's going to start; it's going to get you home after wards.
- Citroen Xantia V6X.
- Wonderful water-bed suspension.
- GAQ Active tells you the cars to get excited in.

Fly bye

IF CLYDE and Joan West have their way, America's pet cemeteries face a morbid future. The Wests, party decorators in Crystal River, Florida, recently unveiled the Eternal Ascend Society, a company that inserts cremated pet remains into helium-filled balloons and releases the floating latex coffins into the heavens. The couple thought up the idea during a family dinner last

April. "Clyde and I were talking about what would happen when our time comes," recalls Mrs West. "and Clyde said, 'I don't want to be buried, just put my remains in a balloon and send me on up.' Eight months and several permits later, the couple, who are self-described animal-lovers, began offering "flights" to grieving pet owners. "An animal is just like a child and people get very attached to their pets," says Mrs West. "This is a way to pay tribute to their loved one. When you see the balloon go up and the sun is shining and the sky is blue, it will bring tears to your eyes."

A no-frills flying funeral costs \$249. The society can provide flowers, photography and invitations but not the cremation, which must be performed by a licensed funeral home. Once the ashes cool, Mr West sprinkles them into a heavy-duty balloon. He adds helium and then places the inflated balloon inside a custom-designed carrier made of Plexiglas and vinyl. Then it's off to the launching pad (usually Fido's favourite field). Ac-

ording to Mrs West, the pet's final voyage only takes a minute or two. "Five miles into the atmosphere, the temperature is 40 degrees below zero. The balloon crystallises and breaks into a million pieces, the size of spaghetti strips," she says.

But many environmental watchdogs see released balloons as a danger to animal life. "They (balloon remnants) are pollutants that can be ingested by wildlife and lead to their deaths by suffocation," says Cathy Liss, executive director of the Animal Welfare Institute.

"The balloons are biodegradable and we hand-tie each one to avoid using string or ribbon," counters Mrs West. "If a piece of these balloons did end up in the water — which is most unlikely — then it would go through sea-life just like a peanut goes through a puppy dog."

Esquire discovers the latest American way of death.

When I get up in the morning, what I see is a girl like any other. Once the makeup artists have done their job on me, I see Cindy Crawford. I become "the thing".

(Spin is not lying," says PR maven Howard Rubenstein.) Others take a middle position. (It's a matter of degree," says former Reagan adviser Lyn Nofziger.) In fact, with spin, one can never be sure. That's the point. "Lies or not," notes Clinton campaign advisor Ann Lewis, "spin amounts to more than just the truth."

In Bill Clinton's Washington, most people seem to find the question of spin vs lying largely irrelevant. The city operates under what Wash-

ington Post White House correspondent Ann Devroy calls a "tacit understanding, that even though we say you shouldn't lie, the definition of lies and the definition of truth are all sort of malleable."

This malleability is one reason our politics have ceased to have much relationship to governance. That obsolete ideal has been replaced by a theatre of the absurd designed simply to foster the im-

pression of governance. This is true not only at the squalid margins, where a self-evident crook like Al D'Amato can appoint himself an ethics cop, but right in the red hot centre of the political system.

Remember the Clinton crime bill? Two summers ago, the president fought a sudden-death grudge match against the National Rifle Association and its evil, pro-gun allies in Congress in order to ban assault weapons. He lost what looked like the final round, leading to much harumphing about the Clinton presidency being kaput. But in dramatic "Comeback Kid" fashion, Clinton somehow jumped back up off the canvas and proceeded to triumph over the forces of darkness.

The above sentences are by and large true, but unfortunately beside the point. The assault weapons battle was a spin fight, not a real one. The law, as passed by congress, bans 19 types of semi-automatic guns but exempts another 650. The Federal Crime Control bill even exempts the guns it bans, if a person has

Dizzy Spin

SOME people say spin is lying. ("Spin is lying," says essayist Roger Rosenblatt.) Some people say it is not. (Spin is not lying," says PR maven Howard Rubenstein.) Others take a middle position. (It's a matter of degree," says former Reagan adviser Lyn Nofziger.) In fact, with spin, one can never be sure. That's the point. "Lies or not," notes Clinton campaign advisor Ann Lewis, "spin amounts to more than just the truth."

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Mother Jones... in a spin

sold one to a pawnshop and wants to buy it back.

The rest of the bill is a kind of fiction as well. It calls for \$30.2 billion in new spending, but doesn't include any appropriations for it. (The bill assumes Al Gore's "Reinvent-Government" programme — another spin phenomenon — will somehow pay for it.) One of the most hotly contested aspects of the bill added a number of new death penalty provisions to the federal penal code. No one on either side of the debate saw fit to mention, however, that nobody has been executed in this country under the federal penal code for more than 30 years.

Mother Jones gives us examples of spinning, something we will no doubt be seeing a lot of during the next 12 months.

Jackdaw wants your jewels. E-mail jackdaw@guardian.co.uk; fax 0171-713 4362. Jackdaw, The Guardian, 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER.

Emily Sheffield

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Finance Guardian

Highest earners turn down inflation-busting pay deal as airline unveils record profits



Hats off... Airline staff help chairman Sir Colin Marshall (left) and chief executive Robert Ayling celebrate record profits of £585 million

PHOTOGRAPH: MARTIN ARGLES

BA pilots to ballot on strike

Keith Harper
Transport Editor

BRITISH Airways' 3,100 pilots are threatening to bring the airline to a halt, despite being offered bonuses of up to £6,000 each as part of their share in a £94 million employee dividend, one of the biggest ever paid by a UK company.

Their entry wage is £18,000 a year, but they can earn up to £100,000 a year as captains of Concorde or long-range jumbos on BA's lucrative routes. They have rejected a 3.6 per cent pay rise, 50 per cent above the inflation rate, backdated to November, and a further inflation-proof rise which would give them an automatic increase of half a point above this November's official inflation figure.

Mr Darke said: "We want a no-strings offer - one which is comparable to that being offered to the rest of the company. Flight crew have been deliberately targeted in an unnecessary and highly provocative way."

Robert Ayling, BA's chief executive, said: "BA pilots are the best in Britain. They are intelligent, sensible and skilful people. I am sure they will consider the offer they have been made is a reasonable one."

BA's 56,000 staff for their efforts during the year and spoke of "countless acts of service which were well beyond the call of duty". He said there was no question of the bonus being withheld from the pilots because of the strike ballot. "They are entitled to it and it will be paid," he said.

Mr Ayling warned that BA needed to make £1 billion of savings over the next few years. It had to look at reducing costs on baggage handling and other services. "No part of the company will be unaffected," he said.



"would become a matter of history". Mr Ayling praised

Notebook

World watchdogs who bark in vain



Edited by Patrick Donovan

GIVEN that City watchdogs cannot even agree among themselves over how to police the London market, it always looked highly unlikely that the world's combined banking and security regulators would make much of their awesome task of clamping down on "Barings style" risks to the global financial system.

Cynics will not be disappointed by the reams of wishy-washy proposals which have now been published by the Basle Committee on Banking Supervision and the International Organisation of Securities Commissions.

These are the ultimate regulators for the world's banking and equity trading. Prompted by the twin calamities of the Barings bank fiasco and the collapse of the Mexican economy, finance ministers from the Group of Seven industrialised nations last year told them to examine ways of combating risks inherent in the global financial system.

It is welcome that yesterday's regulators report has at least endorsed the need for the G7 to address the dangers inherent in today's markets. As the document argues, the more efficient the global market place becomes, the more the system "accelerates" the effect of the collapse of any of its major participants.

Yet, beyond accepting the need for closer co-operation and the implementation of internationally accepted regulation, there is disappointingly little meat for G7 ministers to get their teeth into when they finally get the findings at next month's summit meeting, in Lyons.

The fundamental problem, as the regulators acknowledge, is that so much of the world's money operates from offshore jurisdictions cloaked in banking privacy laws.

Unless governments around the world are prepared to offer full transparency to their financial markets, a global regulatory system has no real chance of success.

A rather more down-to-earth policy for controlling systemic risk was yesterday put forward by the Royal Economic Society's monthly journal.

In its latest issue, the economist Kevin Done argues that the best solution would be to abolish the Bank of England's role as a lender of last resort.

He argues that the financial safety net offered by central banks tempts financial institutions into taking too many risks.

That is going too far. But one thing remains clear throughout this debate: the markets remain hugely vulnerable to ever more sophisticated financial products. It will take more than a meeting of G7 ministers to put this genie back in the bottle.

Gates lives on

IT MIGHT not yet be the time for Bill Gates to sell up and retire to his lakeside mansion before network computers take over the world and consign Microsoft shares to the dustbin.

But yesterday it became clear that he faces a determined assault from Oracle, the world's largest database software group.

Oracle chief Larry Ellison wants to reinvent the computer market. He claims that the future does not lie with the kind of expensive PC Microsoft was set up to serve. Instead, Oracle's vision is that consumers will make do with simpler machines, using the Internet to access all their software and other on-line services.

Yesterday, Oracle linked up with the many firms who want to break the stranglehold that Microsoft and chip-maker Intel have over the market.

But the jury remains out over whether this strategy will work.

For it is one thing for leading computer companies to agree on product standards between themselves. And, as experience shows, quite another to sell the products to the public.

There is increased competition from the PC establishment itself, which has been steadily cutting prices. The smaller the price gap between the two types of machines, the more people will opt for a PC.

The consumer goods industry has a history of successfully selling relatively high-priced products with lots of features which are rarely used.

Features sell goods, whether they are needed or not.

The costly PC offers almost unlimited features which can be used without running up costly phone bills, which will prove to be the real hidden cost of network computers. So Bill Gates' fortune is probably assured for quite some time to come.

OECD snubs British stance on slave labour ban

Larry Elliott in Paris

THE Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development will today deliver a snub to Britain by backing international action against countries that exploit child workers, use forced labour and refuse to recognise trade unions.

A long-awaited study by the Paris-based think-tank concludes that labour standards

must not be left to market forces and the global community should step in to stop the worst abuses.

"In cases of systematic violations of basic worker rights by non-democratic regimes, it is up to the international community to decide what should be done," the report says.

"Freedom of association, as well as the other core labour standards cannot be considered primarily as a means to improve market efficiency, as

they are fundamental rights of workers."

Britain has taken a hands-off approach to linking trade and employment rights, arguing that it threatens "back door" protectionism in the West against low-cost developing countries.

UK ministers, while condemning slave labour and child exploitation, believe that core standards should be handled by the International Labour Organisation and left off the agenda at the first min-

isterial meeting of the World Trade Organisation, in Singapore, in December.

Britain is likely to be left isolated, however, at the two-day annual OECD ministerial meeting which begins in Paris today - as a result of a deal between the United States and the European Union.

Sir Leon Brittan, European Commission vice-president with responsibility for trade matters, will, it is said, support US demands for a WTO

inquiry into possible links between labour standards and unfair trading practices.

In return, Sir Leon will receive backing from Washington for his attempt to push through plans for a Multilateral Agreement on Investment.

The OECD report fails to endorse trade union calls for a WTO social clause to prevent developing countries using labour abuses to secure lucrative western markets. Union leaders are pleased,

however, that the OECD singles out a set of core standards: "elimination of child labour exploitation, prohibition of forced labour, freedom of association, the right to organise and bargain collectively, and non-discrimination in employment."

The OECD says its report shows it is "theoretically possible that the observance of core standards would strengthen the long-term economic performance of all countries."

Regulator will penalise water firms which fail to plug leaks

Nicholas Bannister

WATER companies that fail to meet their targets for reducing leakage from their pipes face enforcement action by the industry regulator.

Ian Byatt, director general of Ofwat, told a Commons select committee yesterday that he was monitoring the companies' performance in achieving reductions of leakage.

If necessary he would take action against any company which failed to meet leakage reduction targets. He would also take account of their performance on leakage at the next price review.

He told MPs that water companies needed to cater for peak demand and that the high demand last summer should have been anticipated.

Consumer groups have blamed the companies' failure to reduce leakage, which can cause the loss of about 30 per cent of water piped into the mains, for big increases in bills. They also claimed leakage was a key cause of the water shortage last summer.

The companies said much of the leakage was in pipes owned by customers and that excessive use of garden sprinklers accounted for much of last year's demand.

Rolls thrusts into China's aero-engine market

Industrial staff

ROLLS-ROYCE, the British aero-engine maker, appeared in poll position to tap the huge market to power China's proposed new 100-seat regional jet when it signed a \$30 million (£20 million) joint venture with Aviation Industries of China (Avic) yesterday.

The deal was sealed on the third day of deputy prime minister Michael Heseltine's trade mission to China and marks one of the most important trade breakthroughs for a western aerospace company into the Chinese market.

The two groups are to set up a plant carrying out casting and machining of parts for Rolls-Royce engines designed for Fokker, Boeing and McDonnell Douglas aircraft. It will employ 600 people and could generate export earnings of \$20 million a year.

But the real prize would be selection of a Rolls-Royce power plant for China's planned new regional airliner, the A100.

"The Rolls Royce BR715 engine... is very likely to be selected as the power plant for the A100 project," Zhu Yuli, president of Avic, said.

● Airtrons, the holiday company, has ordered a Boeing 757-300 ER aircraft with Rolls-Royce RB211-535E4 engines for about \$2.5 million. Airtrons said it would pay for the aircraft in cash.

Mothers miss out on millions of Euro money for child care

Sarah Ryle

BRITISH women trying to return to work are missing out on millions of pounds of European money for child-care costs, the European Commission said yesterday.

Padraig Flynn said comprehensive child-care provision was the only way to guarantee women's full participation in the labour market. He accused governments and businesses across the European Union of "paying a lot of lip service" to the issue without giving practical support.

Speaking after an Equal Op-

portunities Commission conference in London, where large companies said they had saved millions of pounds as a result of equality policies, Mr Flynn said the Government should be targeting much more European money at child care than it did now.

"There is lots of money in the European Social Fund and I'm not very pleased with the level of response that there is to the capacity available," Mr Flynn said.

The money would come from the 47 billion ecu (£29.2 billion) European Social Fund, which is exclusively for training projects. Britain's share is £2.9 billion in 1994-99. The Department for Education and Employ-

ment said this year it would allocate £755 million to a huge range of training schemes but could not say how many of these included child-care provision.

A recent survey for the department found that Britain was lagging behind France, Germany and Denmark in quality of child care.

Mr Flynn, now drawing up a framework directive to give more bite to existing, non-binding recommendations for better child care, said only action by national governments would topple the barrier to women's equality.

The case for state intervention to strengthen provision was also made by Bank of England deputy governor

Howard Davies. Despite his belief that compulsory crèche provision would be impractical, Mr Davies said British business would have to raise its commitment to helping women stay in jobs.

A BT spokesman said: "BT has been looking at a broad range of ways to stimulate the digital industry in the UK and at this stage it would be inappropriate to comment on rumour and speculation."

News Corporation, which controls 40 per cent of BSkyB, is already developing a satellite digital TV service with MCI. BT's 20 per cent-owned partner in the US.

Barclays tunes in to talks about telephone-digital TV partnership

BARCLAYS Bank is in talks with British Sky Broadcasting and British Telecom about forming a consortium to boost the introduction of satellite digital television and encourage the use of interactive services such as home shopping and banking, writes Nicholas Bannister.

Digital TV via satellite is due to be launched in Britain towards the end of next year but the industry believes viewers will be reluctant to switch to it if they have to pay the full cost of

£400 to £500 for the set-top decoder boxes.

The consortium will aim to provide subsidies which would more than halve the cost to the consumer.

BSkyB, by far the biggest satellite TV broadcaster in the UK, is thought to be near an agreement with BT which would link phone lines with the box to provide interactive services.

A Barclays spokeswoman confirmed that the bank was in talks but stressed they were still at an early stage.

"We are still exploring the potential," she said.

The bank has a history of introducing Britain to new technologies, including the credit card in 1966 and the cash dispenser in 1967.

It plugged into the Internet with an interactive service for Barclaycard customers in May last year. It launched BarclaySquare, an online shopping service on the Internet which allows customers to buy goods and services from the likes of Sainsbury, Argos and Interflora using what

the bank described as "a secure method of data encryption".

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Gummer calls on insurers to act as pollution police

Roger Cowe

The Government yesterday called on the insurance industry to act as a police force in the fight against industrial pollution.

Environment Secretary John Gummer said market forces, expressed through insurance company pressure on policyholders, could be a more effective force than regulation. He called on industry to take account of environmental costs and urged insurers to press customers to use technology to avoid creating risks.

Opening an international conference in London on insurance and the environment, Mr Gummer said: "The trouble with nineteenth century businesses is they took their profit, leaving the costs to future generations. We mustn't let business get away with not costing goods properly."

He told the 100 chief executives of insurers from 15 countries that it was essential to develop ways of assessing liability, or insurers would have to become more risk-averse, which would be damaging for industry.

The conference, sponsored by the UN Environment Programme (UNEP), follows last year's commitment by the insurance industry in a statement of principle agreed by 50 of the world's leading companies, including the UK's General Accident. Today NatWest Bank's insurance subsidiary will sign the statement, which pledges that insurers will work towards sustainable development by encouraging sound environmental management.

The insurance industry is increasingly worried about risks from climate change resulting from pollution.

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TOURIST RATES - BANK SELLS

Australia 1,8320	France 7,52	Italy 2,287	Singapore 2,875
Austria 1,82	Germany 6,590	Spain 1,920	South Africa 3,3
Belgium 48,20	Greece 355,00	Netherlands 2,5175	Sweden 10,029
Canada 2,02	Hong Kong 11,38	New Zealand 2,1475	Switzerland 1,645
Cyprus 0,5520	India 52,5	Norway 0,70	Taiwan 1,1425
Denmark 8,72	Ireland 0,425	Portugal 2,20	Turkey 111,814
Finland 7,08	Israel 4,81	Saudi Arabia 5,63	USA 1,4750

Supplied by NatWest Bank (excluding Indian rupee and Israeli shekel).

Economists see 'rich nations' lurching back to the dole queue

LARRY ELLIOTT reports from Paris on the OECD's forecasts of gloom

THE West's leading economic think tank last night responded to Europe's lurch back into recession by slashing its growth forecast for the developed world this year and next.

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development warned that unemployment was back on the rise and the slowdown on the Continent could scupper the chances of achieving the Maastricht timetable for a single currency.

Sharply downgrading their forecasts of six months ago, economists at the 27-member "rich man's club" now predict that gross domestic product in the West will be 2.1 per cent up in 1996, a reduction from the 2.6 per cent they

forecast last December. With prospective 1997 growth also revised downward — from 2.8 per cent to 2.5 per cent — the OECD believes that Germany and France will fail to meet the Maastricht criteria for monetary union unless their governments go ahead with recently-announced plans to cut their budget deficits.

The OECD's outgoing secretary-general, Jean-Claude Paine, said that he still expected the single currency project to go ahead as planned in 1999, with France and Germany included in a hard core of founder members.

However, he stressed that his confidence was based on the expectation that fiscal tightening would receive the blessing of the financial markets and allow short term and



Bus stop... Cologne public transport workers leave some 250 vehicles idle during a token strike against pay cuts

PHOTOGRAPH: ROLAND WERNER/AGF

long term interest rates to fall.

According to the OECD, Germany's growth prospects this year are bleak. GDP is expected to expand by just 0.5 per cent, far slower than the 2.4 per cent pencilled in last December.

The German economy is expected to contract by 0.3 per cent in the first half of 1996, against a 2.6 per cent expansion predicted in December.

However, a cheaper mark and lower interest rates are forecast to prompt a recovery in investment and exports next year, leading to growth of 2.4 per cent.

Kumi Shigehara, the OECD's chief economist, said one factor behind the cut in the forecast for the whole of the industrialised West had

been the US's move to a different method of calculating growth and inflation figures. He admitted that the OECD had also underestimated the triple blow to growth caused by the rise in long-term interest rates in 1994, the strength

of the mark and the currency turbulence in Europe last spring.

Last night's forecasts were compiled before the recent announcements in Bonn and Paris of extensive budget cuts to comply with the Maastricht timetable, and contain detailed projections for only three OECD nations — the US, Japan and Germany.

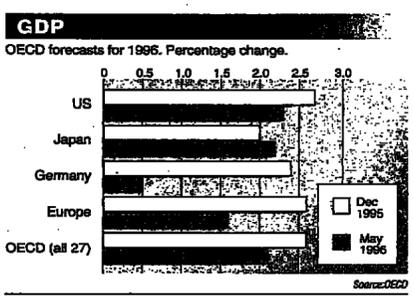
Mr Shigehara hinted that the OECD might further revise its forecasts when a complete rundown of all 27 nations is available on June 19.

Mr Paine said that there was a growing consensus that the combination of macro-economic stability and structural reform was the key to solving the West's chronic unemployment problem.

But trade unions from the industrialised nations called on OECD governments to introduce co-ordinated policies to expand economic and employment growth and head off recessionary forces.

With the dole queues in western countries expected to remain at close to 35 million people this year and in 1997, the trade union advisory committee to the OECD warned that "mass unemployment and chronic worker insecurity have created a ticking social time bomb".

Unions called for cuts in interest rates, targeted investment in infrastructure and human capital, controls on financial markets, and for international debt relief to boost demand and enhance job creation.



Plausible remedy for cancer that could have made Sid rich without his thinking about trains

Outlook/Ian King looks at British Biotech's rise on the back of a would-be wonder drug

NEVER mind Railtrack. British Gas or National Power — Sid would have done much better over the last couple of years had he sunk the contents of his piggy bank into a biotechnology stock. In particular sector leader British Biotech.

Today will see British Biotech announce crucial "Phase II" trial results of marimastat, an anti-cancer drug it has been developing since November 1994, which, if successful, could achieve sales of

more than £2 billion. The stock market appears to have made its mind up already on what British Biotech is likely to say, marking the shares up 186p yesterday to a record closing high of £30.30. A year ago the shares, floated in 1992 at £4.25, stood at £4.82.

Amazingly, that values the company at £1.75 billion, just short of the valuation put on Railtrack after the runaway success of yesterday's flotation.

So what exactly is marimastat, this wonder drug? Technologically speaking, it is a matrix-metalloproteinase (MMP) inhibitor. More simply, it is part of a family of enzymes involved in destroying old or damaged tissues, and is thought to stop the spread of tumours without actually killing them.

According to Fran Balkwill, principal scientist at the Imperial Cancer Research Fund, if marimastat proves successful, it would allow sufferers to live with cancer rather than die from it, or it could be used in conjunction with other cancer treatments like chemotherapy.

Better still, it would be

taken orally in the form of a pill, rather than any of the more unpleasant forms of cancer treatment.

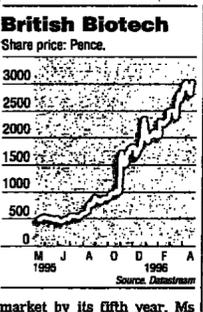
However, City analysts are split on the price tags being placed on companies most of which, like British Biotech, have not made a penny profit to date.

Sceptics argue that Britain's fledgling biotech sector is years behind its American equivalent, that many of the so-called "wonder drugs" being developed never reach the market, and that side-effects associated with others only show up towards the end of the clinical testing process.

But supporters of British Biotech, such as Julia Dickson, chief executive of the industry, insist that this is no bubble stock.

Greg Middleton calculates that marimastat could have a potential market of 2003 of around £2.8 billion, and assuming that the drug has a 60 per cent chance of making it onto the market, should value British Biotech shares at £52.72.

Central to these calculations are further assumptions that an individual patient is treated with marimastat at an annual cost of £3,000, falling to £2,000 over the first five years of the drug's life, and that British Biotech has snafled a 35 per cent share of the



market by its fifth year. Ms Dickson explained: "Each year, 2.9 million people are diagnosed with cancer and, on average, 60 per cent of them will die of the disease. There is a tremendous unmet medical need in cancer, as most existing therapies are both extremely unpleasant and rather ineffective."

"MMP is the buzz-word in the industry at the moment, and British Biotech is at the forefront of this drug."

What the City will be hoping to hear today is that British Biotech will be taking marimastat on to its "phase III" of testing. When a drug reaches that stage, according to Ms Dickson, it stands a 60

News in brief

Virgin to enter life and pensions fray

VIRGIN Direct, the financial services arm of Richard Branson's Virgin Group, is challenging traditional life insurers with the launch of four, low-cost plans, available over the phone.

The group also aims to offer pensions before the end of the year and repeat the success it has had with personal equity plans where it has £200 million under management.

But analysts said Virgin's entry into the life market will not have a serious impact on traditional insurers. — Jill Papworth

BOC sheds loss-maker Delta

BOC, the gases and health-care group, yesterday announced the sale of its Nottingham-based biotechnology arm, Delta, for £25.8 million to Centeon LLC, a joint venture between the German pharmaceuticals group Hoechst and Rhône-Poulenc Rorer, the Franco-American drug group which last year snapped up Fisons.

Delta, which ran up losses of £9 million during the first six months of BOC's financial year, specialises in developing and purifying proteins using yeast-based technology. — Ian King

No flotation, says Portman

The Portman Building Society yesterday denied that it is to float on the Stock Exchange as chief executive Ken Culley said: "Our intention is to remain in the building society sector."

Portman branches witnessed a "noticeable increase" in investors opening new accounts in response to flotation speculation but Mr Culley warned: "People looking for instant profit will be disappointed if they open an account with us." — Cliff Jones

In the can for Merthyr

SOUTH Wales has beaten off competition from France, Ireland and other parts of the UK to secure a £30 million manufacturing investment by America's leading producer of aerosol containers, US Can Corp, which makes one in every two of the three billion aerosol cans sold in America each year, plus a substantial share of the European market from a plant it is setting up at Merthyr Tydfil. The new factory, scheduled to start production next year, will create 120 jobs. — Geoffrey Gibbs

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Recovery hit as vendors bide time

Cliff Jones

RECOVERY in the housing market is being held up by vendors waiting for further price increases before putting homes on the market, estate agents say.

The Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors, however, records an increase in market activity in its latest quarterly report, with recovery strongest in the South and the Midlands.

The Halifax and Nationwide building societies have recently reported four consecutive monthly price rises and chairman Jon Foulds said at the former's annual meeting yesterday that the society expects the recovery to go on.

Estate agents report little change in house prices over the last quarter but the RICS is confident that gradual price increases will encourage more people to sell. Spokesman Ian Perry said: "As more properties come on to the market price rises will free hundreds of thousands from the negative equity trap."

Amec chairman gets pay boost after seeing off unwelcome bid

Lisa Buckingham

SIR ALAN Cockshaw, chairman of Amec, the engineering group which fought off a £360 million takeover bid from Kvaerner in December, was given a 68.3 per cent increase in his 1995 pay packet, the group's annual report disclosed yesterday.

Sir Alan, who is now non-executive chairman of the company, saw his remuneration rise from £235,765 in 1994 to £396,673 last year. In addition his pension contributions rose by 14 per cent to £31,200.

The annual report says that Sir Alan's £126,340 bonus for 1995 was swelled by a one-off "special bonus" of £25,000. This was the remuneration committee's attempt to recognise "the exceptional burden borne by him in 1995 following the retirement of the former group chief executive".

Amec has now appointed Peter Mason as its chief executive but profits for last year took a £4.1 million hit from the costs of defending the group against the un-

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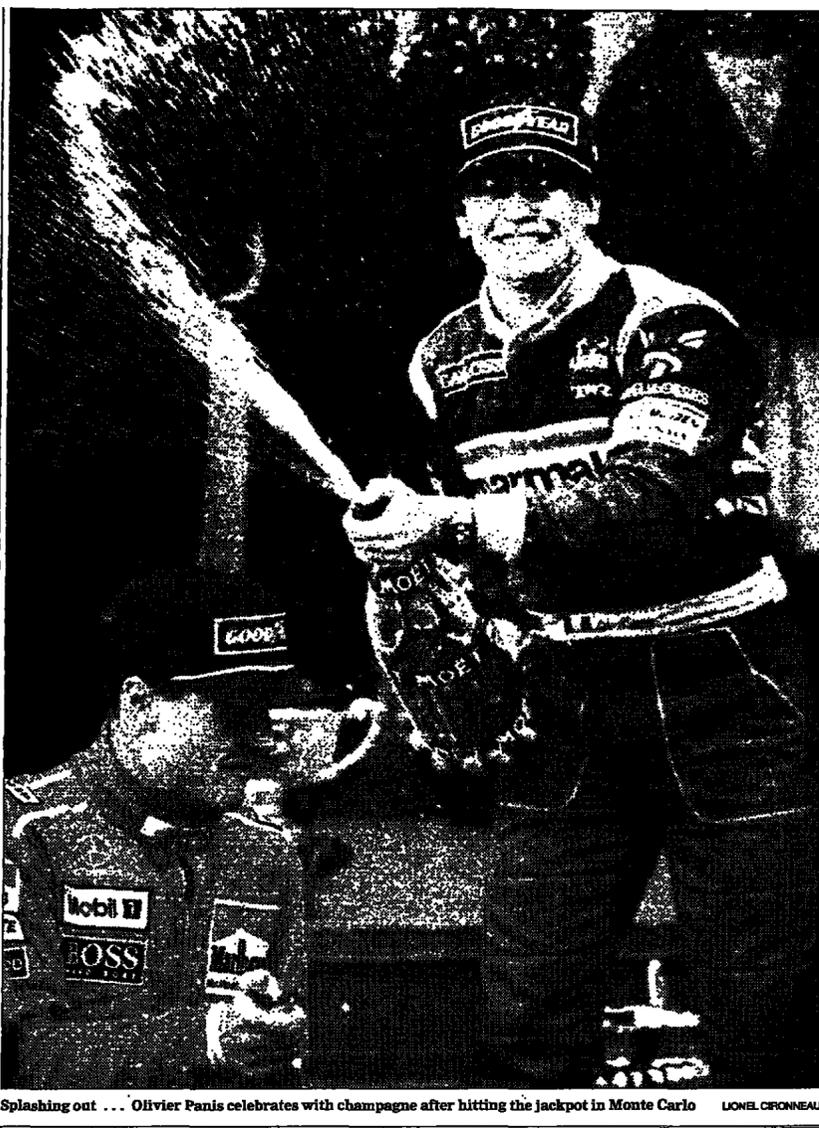
for Merthyr

MANCHESTER BUSINESS SCHOOL

Racing

Dr Massini the latest Derby doubt

DR MASSINI, one of the favourites for the Vodafone Derby following his victory at York last week, has been removed from the betting...



Splashing out... Olivier Panis celebrates with champagne after hitting the jackpot in Monte Carlo

Motor Racing

Panis guides Ligier out of the shadows

OLIVIER PANIS'S surprise victory in Sunday's Monaco Grand Prix will go down in motor racing history not least because it established the record for a team returning from a protracted spell in the Formula One wilderness to win again.

Darley to winter in Hong Kong

KEVIN DARLEY is to ride in Hong Kong this winter after receiving confirmation that his application to ride in the colony has been accepted.

Rugby League

Hull aim to challenge foreigner rule on field

HULL are to challenge the Rugby League's rules restricting the number of overseas players - not in court but on the field.

zens of the European Union. Webber, whose parents emigrated before he was born, holds a UK passport.

its final appeal against the decision to outlaw Super League in Australia until the year 2000.

Goodwood with form guide

Table with 2 columns: Race number and race details including horse names, jockeys, and trainers.

Beverley runners and riders

Table with 2 columns: Race number and race details including horse names, jockeys, and trainers.

Results

Table with 2 columns: Race name and race results including horse names, jockeys, and finishing positions.

Fetherston-Godley appeals

MARTIN FETHERSTON-GODLEY is to appeal against the decision to place Xenophon O'Connell second after his head win over Zygote at Newbury on Sunday.

RACELINE logo and contact information for Goodwood and Beverley, including phone numbers and website details.

Cricket

County Championship: Warwickshire v Hampshire

Reeve goes down throwing the bat

David Foot at Edgbaston

ONE would think that Dermot Reeve had quite enough mad-cap ideas racing through that febrile head of his as he lay awake at night, counting the takings and permuting his highly personalised theories about the game of cricket.

pudded up, he was apt to dispose of his bat somewhat hastily while avoiding any danger of a catch. He had gone 11 overs before scoring and now here he was making the close-in fielder himself flinch.

and then the already modest attack was depleted still more when Winston Benjamin, having taken the first two wickets, broke down in mid-over. It was not all bad luck, however. Nick Knight found himself facing Milburn for the remainder of the over — and playing on immediately. He had reached his 50 with fours on both sides of the wicket off Maru and looked quite capable of keeping the target within reach.



Fun and games... Kent's wicketkeeper Steve Marsh, who made 127, can afford to smile as Essex's Neil Williams fluffs a shot. PHOTOGRAPH: TOM JENKINS

Six for dead-eye Malcolm

DEVON MALCOLM, whose wayward bowling has become a trademark, found the target with a vengeance yesterday, writes Don Best. The Derbyshire paceman hit the stumps five times and finished with six for 52 — his best for the county — as Glamorgan were beaten by 110 runs at Cardiff.

Malcolm twice missed the hat-trick. He got rid of Adrian Dale and Matthew Maynard, who fell first ball, but was thwarted by Tony Cottee. Then, after Neil Kendrick and Colin Metson had fallen in successive balls, it was left to Darren Thomas to leave Malcolm frustrated again. Cottee also stood in his way before being bowled for 45.

and Robin Turner to the first aid room as the visitors scrambled a draw. A short ball gashed Bowler's face and Turner was hit twice on the left hand. Going into the final session Somerset had slumped to 102 for five with only Shaun Lee looking likely to stay. He faced 44 balls and hit five fours before being almost knocked off his feet by a Welsh rocket that trapped him leg-before for 35.

Essex v Kent

Patel leads Valentine's Park massacre

Paul Weaver at Ilford

DARREN ROBINSON and Stuart Law batted with such easy authority in the morning that the Valentine's Park massacre came as something of a shock: Essex lost their last seven wickets for 21 runs in 83 balls, and Kent won by an innings and 66 runs just before lunch.

operated over the wicket and then found. He took five for 51 in the morning to finish with figures of six for 97 and a match analysis of 10 for 225. While the selectors are in such a bold mood they might consider him for the Tests. He certainly bowled well enough against the England captain Michael Atherton when Kent beat Lancashire at Canterbury earlier this month. Hooper's off-spin accounted for the other three wickets yesterday.

Resuming on 111 for two, still 173 runs behind Kent after following on, Robinson and Law took their third-wicket stand to 157 from 58 overs before Patel bowled Robinson round his legs. Law hit Patel for six over cover and continued to play big drives on his way to his hundred, his fourth in eight innings in all competitions. Essex then still looked like picking up three points for a draw, but when Paul Prichard was caught behind for only a single all resistance drained from them.

Ronnie Irani failed to score and edged his seventh delivery low to Hooper at second slip to make it 159 for five. If Irani has a weakness, it is against spin, something India might well exploit. Law was then caught at bat, Paul Prichard was bowled by the same bowler attempting a lavish drive. Peter Such and Neil Williams went quietly.

Golf

Montgomerie at a stroke

David Davies sees the revitalised Scot set up head-to-head with late-charging Langer

ONE shot of sheer brilliance won Colin Montgomerie his first-round match in the Anderson Consulting World Championship of Golf at The Oxtordshire yesterday. It also went a long way to exorcising the demons that had kept him awake all through the night as he attempted to analyse his dramatic failure in the final round of the Benson and Hedges International on the same course on Sunday.

Langer, two down with three to play, won the par-four 16th by getting up with a drive and three-wood and the long 17th, where Parnevik was in the water and took seven. Then, at the second extra hole, the 17th, he pitched to a foot for a winning birdie. Montgomerie had never led in his match with Rocca and after two shots at the long 17th, scene of a 13 and every score from 11 to three during the 1995 tournament, he was the favourite. He had crossed the treacherous lake with his second shot, leaving him with a straightforward third. Montgomerie opted to cross with his third and a watching Rocca said: "This is much to be desired."

merie played an eight-iron perfectly, the ball pitched 138 yards, spun back and left him with a six-foot birdie putt. It was a superb effort, a match-winner as it turned out, and the watching Torrance raised his arm in salute to his colleague. "The Italian now knew that he had to get close as well, and missed the green. His club was slammed into the ground in frustration, for the pair had halved the previous seven holes and both knew that the whoever gained the next advantage would probably be the winner. The 18th was duly halved. The Italian needed to hole a 40-footer to go to extra holes; he gave it the necessary oomph but it slid by the pin. Afterwards Montgomerie revealed that the mere thought of having to come back to the Oxtordshire after Sunday's fiasco had made him shudder. "To have to drive the same route, to the same place, to park the car in the same spot and then get out and think '94', that was quite tough," he said. "Sunday's breaking point came at the short 13th, the hole at which he incurred a two-stroke penalty. "After all my problems on the earlier

holes I had just birdied the 11th with my second ball, the 12th with my first ball and I was bank on top of the leaderboard," he said. "I hit a poor tee-shot but it bounced before it reached the bunker and I was thinking: 'Just get this up and down and you can win'. "When I got to the ball and saw it was plugged I could hardly believe it, and when I stepped into the sand I sunk in to my ankles. I kicked the sand in pure frustration that luck had gone against me right at that stage, and later I was told that that constituted 'testing the surface' and was a two-stroke penalty. Well, whatever it was, I wasn't testing the surface." Montgomerie was more than relieved to have won. "I would have to admit," he said yesterday, "that when I left home on Sunday night I broke the speed limit on the M40 going home, and a sleepless night was no fun either. But having won today I feel better about myself and I also feel better about the world golf." Jose Maria Olazabal, who has rheumatoid arthritis in both feet, has withdrawn from the Volvo PGA Championship, which starts at Wentworth on Friday.

Rugby Union

Mason strikes it rich

Robert Armstrong

SIMON MASON, the Ireland full-back, yesterday became the sixth international player in the past six weeks to join Richmond on a substantial long-term contract. The 22-year-old Orrell goal-kicker, who was playing for Newcastle two seasons ago, will earn about £20,000 a year, with the incentive of bonuses should Richmond win promotion to League One next season. Widely regarded as one of the most talented full-backs in English rugby, Mason joins forces with the Wales half-backs Andy Moore and Adrian Davies, the England forwards Ben Clarke and Richard West, and the former Wales No 8 Scott Quinn, who leaves Wigan at the end of June. Mason's salary will swell Richmond's wages bill to about £200,000 a year over the next five seasons. The pedigree of the London club's recent high-profile signings, not to mention the money on offer, has no doubt persuaded Mason to leave Orrell, even though the club have held a League One place without a break for the past nine seasons. He said: "I am delighted not only to be able to expand my career but also to play for one of the most established names in rugby and one that is actively embracing the opportunities presented by the new spirit of the game." Mason, who will start pre-season training at Richmond in July, made an auspicious international debut against Wales in March, won his second cap against England a fortnight later, and played in last Saturday's Peace International against the Barbarians in Dublin. A natural ball-player who excels in counter-attack, he qualified for Ireland on the basis of his parentage, having been born and educated in the North of England. He should also benefit from the aggressive presence of the former Bath wing Jim Fallon, who joined Richmond earlier this month from the Leeds rugby league club. The Richmond chief executive, Simon Elliott said: "Simon is a very talented player whose individual flair in this crucial position will be a boost to the premier squad next season." Richmond are expected to announce at least one more major signing before the start of next season.

Nottinghamshire v Lancashire

Gallian cast in heroic role

David Hepps at Trent Bridge

JASON GALLIAN, battling one-handed with his injured right hand in plaster up to the elbow, survived the last four balls from the left-arm spinner Andy Afford as Lancashire staged off defeat in a dramatic finish. Gallian had broken a knuckle in the field, failing to catch Afford, but when the pair renewed rivalries nearly six hours later, his relief at facing him rather than one of Nottinghamshire's quicker bowlers was understandable. Even when Tim Robinson made an unconvincing appeal for a catch at silly point from the penultimate

ball, Gallian's composure remained undisturbed. There being little point trying to shake him by the hand, they gave him a couple of slaps on the back instead. Afford found enough turn to finish with six for 51. His final wicket — Keedy caught by Robinson at silly point after the ninth-wicket pair had survived nearly 10 overs — brought momentary confusion as Lancashire's Nick Speak, who batted splendidly for his unbeaten 74, wandered towards the pavilion, unsure of Gallian's intentions. Afford's most important victim was Fairbrother, who had played calmly and craftily for 50. He then swept the spinner fine, only to find Noon scurrying round to take an alert catch. Lancashire began the day propitiously. Martin's 12 overs brought him the last six Nottinghamshire wickets for 26 runs, completing career-best figures of seven for 50. Surprisingly, Martin has taken five wickets in an innings on only four occasions. Nottinghamshire, by adding only another 51 runs, left Lancashire 294 to win in 71 overs, which, on a pitch beginning to turn, albeit slowly, was never going to be straightforward, especially with Gallian hospital-bound after dropping Afford. They quickly lost Atherton, playing back to Cairns, and Crawley, who sought to advance to Bates's off-spin and skied to midwicket. Bates, who also bowled Hegg, looks a young player of substance.

Badminton

Stay-at-home players await their fates

Richard Jago

JOANNE WRIGHT, Julie Bradbury and Simon Archer, who opted to prepare for the Olympics at home rather than travel to Hong Kong to play for England in this week's world team finals, will discover if they are to be penalised this week. The IBF international championships and tournament committee have referred the matter to the disciplinary panel; they will meet in the week. "Obviously, we are anxious about the situation," said the England manager Ciro Cingillo. "But it doesn't surprise me when I hear what people have been saying. If [the trio's absence] has been the talk of the tournament, and the television companies are upset." England's women were defeated 0-5 by South Korea yesterday thus ending their campaign with two losses and a win, while the men — who have lost heavily twice — face another one-sided defeat by the title-holders Indonesia in today's final fixture. They go into the match without the Scottish Open champion Peter Knowles, who has an ankle injury.

Sport and Money

Jordan seeks rivers of cash

Peter Nichols

HOW much must you pay a failed baseball player? The answer, if his name is Michael Jordan, is at least \$36 million (£24 million) for two years and, as the basketball icon told the Chicago Tribune: "That's the absolute bottom figure." That minimum is what the world's highest-earning sportsman, whose contract comes up for grabs after the NBA play-offs, is asking for another two years with the Chicago Bulls, now in a heat-of-seven series with the Orlando Magic. But the Bulls' chairman Jerry Reinsdorf is reluctant to talk numbers at this early stage of negotiations. When it comes to opening supermarkets, Iron Mike does not rate. Not like our Frank. Frank may have lost the fight, but he remains one of the few boxers with sponsorship deals. His estimated pay packet this year of \$5.5 million puts him in line to be Britain's biggest sports earner. Nick Faldo, set for the Masters champion set for a surge in earnings from his new green jacket.

High earners

- Michael Jordan (projected) \$36 million, Basketball.
Mike Tyson \$28 million, Boxing.
Michael Schumacher \$27 million, Motor racing.
Damon Sanders \$15 million, American football and Baseball.
Shaquille O'Neal \$15 million, Basketball.
Andre Agassi \$11 million, Tennis.
Greg Norman \$11 million, Golf.
Frank Bruno \$5.5 million, Boxing.
Nick Faldo \$5 million, Golf.
Damon Hill \$4.5 million, Motor racing.



Scoreboard

Table with columns for County Championship, Gloucestershire v Somerset, and other matches. Lists teams, scores, and individual player statistics.

County Table

Table showing league positions for various counties including Lancashire, Nottinghamshire, and Essex, with columns for runs scored and wickets taken.

First-class averages

Table listing batting and bowling averages for various players, including names like H Morris, G Pugh, and J Atherton.

Ligier emerge from the shadows, page 13

Wright ruled out of Euro 96, page 14

Champions tumble at Edgbaston, page 15

The multi-millionaires of sport, page 15

Sports Guardian

AT LAST THE WIND DROPPED AND A BETTER THAME WAS HAD BY ALL

Killer course loses its venom

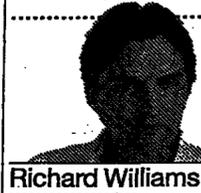
JESPER PARNEVIK's characteristically up-turned cap captured the relatively jaunty mood yesterday at the Andersen Consulting World Championship at The Oxfordshire, a course transformed by spring sunshine after the chill and high wind that blew away so many luminaries 24 hours earlier.

The popular Swede, lost at the second extra hole to Bernhard Langer, one of the casualties of the big chill in the Benson and Hedges International, but Colin Montgomerie, whose game collapsed on Sunday as he squandered a three-stroke lead, put those horrors behind him at the Thame course to beat the Italian Costantino Rocca yesterday and reach today's European Zone semi-finals.

© David Davies, page 15. Photograph: Tom Jenkins.



Cantona: just a big fish in a little pond?



Richard Williams

HE HAD looked into his soul and his conscience, Aimé Jacquet said, and he had decided to leave Eric Cantona out of the squad.

The French do these things differently. Will Terry Venables look into his soul and his conscience when he comes to decide on the inclusion in his final 22 of, say, Dennis Wise?

Here's how the French national coach explained himself. "These players have been together for some time. They've been winning, they've been making progress, they've developed a common idea of the game and an interesting collective expression.

Why break up this dynamic? My choice seems logical, precise and honest. The facts are simple. Before his eight-month suspension last year, Cantona had led France through a series of pedestrian performances marking no significant advance on the dissasters of the qualifying campaign for the 1994 World Cup, in which he had also participated.

At that stage their appearance in Euro 96 was by no means assured. Deprived of force majeure of Cantona's services, Jacquet turned to younger faces. Since then France have gone 20 games without defeat, including a 10-goal thrashing of Azerbaijan and a pivotal 3-1 victory over Romania in Bucharest, and will arrive in England among the favourites for the championship.

There must nevertheless have been a temptation to include Cantona and park him among the substitutes, ready for use in an emergency. Instead Jacquet has boldly chosen to gamble without a wild card. Perhaps he felt that Cantona's presence would attract too many headlines, particularly in his adopted homeland.

At this stage, nothing is worth disrupting the delicate equilibrium of a squad facing its greatest test. Yet the war against Jacques Delors would be as nothing compared to the scorn of the Sun and the Mirror, who were calling for Cantona's deportation this time last year, if Jacquet left him out of the first game and then lost.

The coach didn't duck the issue. "Eric finished the season brilliantly," he said, "and everything said and written in praise of him was perfectly justified, but during his suspension the French team reached another dimension."

No doubt some English critics will accuse Jacquet of avoiding the challenge of coping with such a strong character. But since his first act as national coach was to offer Cantona the captaincy, and since there is no subsequent evidence of any problem between the two, that charge can hardly be sustained.

Even his French critics — including the man in France-Soir who called Cantona "a shining archangel, a demi-god fallen from the heavens to remind his opponents of their human weakness" — accept that the decision to leave him out was made strictly for footballing reasons.

Yet there is a deeper message here, and one that offers a troubling verdict on English football. It was summarised in yesterday's description of Cantona by the football correspondent of Libération: "To some, he is the world's greatest player. To others he is a big man in a little league."

CANTONA is a genuine footballing artist whose presence among us has given enormous pleasure. His positive influence on the young players at Manchester United has been considerable. But it must be doubted that he would have blossomed quite so luxuriantly had he chosen to go to Italy or Spain in 1992.

English defences, with their parade-ground mentality, might have been made to order for his particular talents. To be blunt, the real reason he stayed at Old Trafford last autumn rather than accepting the invitation to join Internazionale was not his love of Manchester or his affection for Alex Ferguson but a knowledge that the pickings would not be so rich against defenders playing a more modern, flexible game.

Still, you can't imagine Venables leaving him out of the England squad, can you? It is, I suppose, too late to get him naturalised in time for the big kick-off, although I can't see how anyone could deny instant citizenship to a chap with four Premier League and two FA Cup winner's medals.

For Cantona, there is only one consolation. At least he can take Isabelle and the kids off on holiday in the knowledge that this latest Calvary will have done nothing but endear him still further to the public that loves him best.

Edgbaston pitch keeps TCCB on edge

David Foot on last-minute plans to move the much-maligned Birmingham wicket

EDGBASTON'S much maligned Test square is again causing anxieties barely a fortnight before the Indians come to Birmingham. Harry Brind, the TCCB inspector of pitches, visits the ground today to discuss a possible late switch of strips for the first Test on June 6.

Unexpected snags, because of the uneven growth and quality of the grass, have

come as an embarrassment to Warwickshire. There were stinging rebukes and red faces last summer when West Indies won the third Test at Edgbaston by an innings inside 2½ days, with much criticism of the appearance of the pitch — shaved at each end — and its disconcerting variation in bounce. Ticket-holders felt short-changed and wanted their money back. Warwickshire blame the

chilly spring weather for their latest problems. Dennis Amiss, the county's chief executive, says: "The cold and windy climate hasn't helped. The strip we had prepared is thinly grassed."

"We've been using heavier soil to try and get harder, faster pitches but it is more difficult to grow grass in that type of soil — although we don't have the tufty grass that was the problem last year."

The intention, if Brind agrees, is to move the Test to an adjoining pitch where the grass appears more even. Warwickshire do not want

more of the obloquy they had last summer from both camps.

The BBC regards the proposed switch with some concern, however, as the proposed wicket is not wired for the stump cameras and will not be in line with the camera gantry on the pavilion roof.

Whatever happens this time round, it would need to go some to beat the drama of last July's wounds to English pride and bodies inflicted by the West Indies pace attack. Even though Ambrose broke down early on, Walsh, Bishop and Kenny Benjamin allowed

England to bat for only 74.2 overs in all.

Alec Stewart's throbbing fingers kept him out of the England second innings, which lasted 30 overs and mustered 89 runs. Jason Gal-

lian had his finger broken on his Test debut and Richard Illingworth his knuckle, while Robin Smith, who top-scored in both innings with 46 and 41, was bruised in a selection of places.

Pitching in: verdict of '95

Mike Atherton

'It was diabolical, the poorest Test pitch I have played on. People are very disappointed. They bought tickets for Saturday and for the fourth day. I can understand their anger and they've been voicing it outside our dressing room.'

Richie Richardson

'We thought it was interesting, with the grass in the middle and looking very bare at either end. It had a lot of pace and a lot of bounce, which pleased our bowlers. It was very difficult to bat on it against our bowlers.'

Raymond Illingworth

'It was unsatisfactory. Any side in the world would have struggled. It put doubts into our batsmen's minds. People have written that it was the pitch I ordered, but what I wanted was one with even bounce.'

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There are three basic theories of sexual harassment suits: whistle-blowing, gold-digging and revenge. Masculine popular culture has generally favoured the second and third theories.

Mark Lawson

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Guardian Crossword No 20,658
Set by Orlando

Across

- Old payment form Rex obtained from the Chancellor's department (9)
- Sounding like a simple Moslem leader (5)
- No-one takes part in offensive (7)
- Sort that is seen in glasses (7)
- No, no, not here (5)
- Added twist used in job (9)
- False sounds ruin Attic drama (5,10)
- Shape that's the same a month since the start of November (5)
- Hair treatment provided by barber in Seville (5)
- Reckless courage of supporter sticking to state party (7)

Down

- Part of the harness said to be put back (10)
- In a manner of speaking I'd have a chance (8)
- One fanciful and one plain lover of Paris (6)
- Remedy for cold found by river (4)
- Newspaper proprietor related to the Iron Duke? (5,5)
- Sort of car phone passed by sailors (4,4)
- In the middle of an ancient kingdom (6)
- Name a flag (4)

CROSSWORD SOLUTION 20,657

- Plastic surgeon, sad bird (4-6)
- Lords' feuds laid waste a German city (10)
- Italian island joined up with one Greek island, being fond of company (8)
- Birds are able to sign (8)
- Acid one, approximately? Exactly! (4,2)
- Show most red meat (6)
- Bring forth an animal (4)
- The company sounded triumphant (4)

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